SCULPTURES

FROM THE NORTH PALACE OF

ASHURBANIPAL

AT NINEVEH (668–627 B.C.)

'Strange prodigy is Man. Of so short stay,
Yet linked with Vega and with Nineveh.
Time-Space: what matters it how far away,
In this strange Hall of Mirrors through which we stray?'

Walter de la Mare, *Winged Chariot* (1951) p. 38

The cuneiform text on the cover of this book is from Room M, slabs 12–13, illustrated on pl. XXXV below, on which Ashurbanipal recorded his triumphs over his 'faithless brother' Shamash-shum-ukin, viceroy of Babylon:

'I, Ashurbanipal, king of the universe, king of the land of Ashur, who at the command of the great gods has attained the desires of his heart: the garments and ornaments—the royal insignia of Shamash-shum-ukin, the faithless brother—his harem, his officials, his battle troops, his (battle) chariot, his processional chariot—his state vehicle—the horses of his yoked team, all the provisions which were in his palace, the people, male and female, great and small—they made to pass before me'.

SCULPTURES

FROM THE NORTH PALACE OF

ASHURBANIPAL

AT NINEVEH (668–627 B.C.)

BY R. D. BARNETT
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PREFACE

It may perhaps prove useful to explain the reasons why the present publication of the sculptures[1] from the Assyrian palaces at the great mound of Kuyunjik, outside modern Mosul in Iraq, was undertaken in this somewhat unwieldy, though comprehensive form. By one of the more extraordinary freaks of fortune (partly perhaps due to the then extensive depopulation of the region) it fell to the lot of the first explorers of Assyria, mostly in search of the elusive site of Nineveh, the Frenchmen, Place and Botta, the Englishmen, Layard, Loftus and Rassam (originally Layard's Chaldaean Christian Assistant from Mosul), in 12 brief years between 1842 and 1854, armed with royal *firmans* or permits from the Sultan of Turkey, to alight on an unparalleled series of vast royal palaces embellished with splendid sculptures on a stupendous scale. No such good fortune smiled on the later and far more systematic excavators of Ashur or Babylon, at the end of the last century, or in this. Admittedly there is evidence that another palace exists virtually unexplored near Kuyunjik at Nebi Yunus, the sacred tomb of the prophet Jonah (as will be explained in our introduction below). Doubtless others lie even more inaccessible, deep beneath the thriving modern Iraqi town of Irbil, the ancient Assyrian capital Arbela. Nevertheless, the appreciation of the very real wealth of material unearthed by these pioneers was offset by the grave difficulties that this sudden profusion of artistic and archaeological treasures created. The French government was generous enough in providing funds for Botta's and Place's excavations at Khorsabad. But the British Treasury, on whom the Trustees of the British Museum directly depended, was cautious in the extreme. The problems of transporting all that might be removed, or was worth removing, to the safety of European museums (there being then no museums in the Near East or Departments of Antiquities to protect sites) were sufficient to tax the skill and resource and determination, and powers of improvisation, of the strongest minds. The precious cargoes of sculptures had often to run the gauntlet, down the Tigris to the Persian Gulf, through hostility from disaffected Arab tribes, and in one French cargo at least, were totally lost, except for what small part was subsequently salvaged with the aid of H.M. Navy; then they had to make their way to the west by devious routes, crossing in some cases to Bombay by sail before returning to round the Cape of Good Hope, in an age before the Suez Canal was cut. Inevitably only a partial selection could be brought home; and though in principle it was planned that most sculptures found, whether brought back or left *in situ* as unimportant, or too damaged to be worth removing, should be drawn, or (all too rarely) photographed by the new paper process invented by Mr. W. Fox Talbot,[2] there was insufficient time always to do it.

Many were not so recorded by either process, being merely described by Layard, and often even more summarily by his successors, or not at all. The sculptures that remained unwanted and *in situ*, or lay about unassigned either to the Louvre or British Museum were either distributed until 1855 by Colonel H. C. Rawlinson, acting as the Trustees' representative, with their broad approval, to various museums and institutions, or afterwards, sawn and trimmed neatly into rectangular shapes, were sold or presented by the natives to local or visiting gentry, missionaries or travellers or friends of the excavators. Many of these, complete or fragmentary, have been located in recent years, others still are likely to reappear from private country houses or foreign collections or from the excavations recently resumed at Nineveh by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities. But the sites of Khorsabad, Nineveh and Nimrud continued to be pilfered for sculptured fragments of reliefs for many years to come; the reopening of excavations at Khorsabad by the Oriental Institute of Chicago in 1929–35 and of Nimrud by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq 1949–50 marked a happier contribution to the history of the excavations.

There were further obstacles to a fuller knowledge of the complete range of these reliefs which prior to the mid 19th century stood in the way of publication. These were inherent in the circumstances of the time. There were then in England no regular sources of support for publication. Layard's personal friendship with Lady Guest and her intervention with John Murray, the publisher, ensured the appearance of Layard's incomparable general accounts of his discoveries, *Nineveh and its Remains* (1849) and *Nineveh and Babylon*[3] (1853) but his full-scale publication *Monuments of Nineveh* I and II (1849, 1853) could only be published by the time-honoured method of public subscription. He was followed by Rassam and Loftus, neither of whom published anything about their finds remotely comparable in value to his. Loftus's reports on Nineveh and Nimrud were buried in the reports of the Assyrian Excavation Fund's privately circulated edition. Rassam's book *Assur and the Land of Nimrud* did not appear till 1897. The Crimean war having broken out in 1854, all further excavation was suspended. Rassam withdrew to a post in the Consular Service of the East India Company. Loftus died prematurely in 1858; his work in Assyria was completely forgotten. The majority of his unpublished folios of drawings remained hidden and unknown in the British Museum for 80 years until resuscitated by Dr. Gadd in 1936, and the all-important portfolio of drawings made by Loftus's artist W. Boutcher, referred to above, was lost to sight until rediscovered in 1963 by Mr. J. Reade in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, which had till then denied all knowledge of it, in spite of a very plain statement by Loftus.[4] While major museums—the Louvre in Paris, the Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople, and the British Museum—published some catalogues of their reliefs, no real account of the palaces and their contents was available except that of Sennacherib published in 1917 by the Reverend Archibald Paterson; its great value was unfortunately vitiated by its being prepared without access to the unpublished drawings (*The Palace of Sinacherib*, Leyden n.d. [1915]) which Budge after his lawsuit with Rassam in 1892 and bitter quarrel with Layard was not interested in making accessible. But the chief interest of scholars in the second half of the 19th century in any case was deflected to the study of cuneiform texts, particularly to the great Kuyunjik tablet collection, the Library of Ashurbanipal, just found by Layard, and groups of texts from the many Mesopotamian sites, and thus 80 years were to pass in which only sporadic excavations at Nineveh took place. Some important preliminary studies in Tiglath-Pileser's reliefs were to be made by Unger in 1917.[5] In the 1930s Professor E.

[1] The terms 'sculpture', 'relief', 'slab', 'orthostat', as here used are defined on p. XII.

[2] William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–77), of Lacock Abbey, Somerset, student of Egyptian hieroglyphs and Assyrian cuneiform, in 1835–49 improved on Daguerre's previously known French method of photography by the use of ordinary writing paper coated with silver iodide, the image being developed by gallo-nitrate of silver and by applying warmth, then fixed with potassium bromide (later hyposulphide of soda) and rinsed with water. This negative/positive principle of painting was called Talbotype in 1851. The manufacture of albumen paper positives coated with white of egg to give a glossy surface, sensitized with silver nitrate, was introduced in France. It is not quite clear *when* Boutcher made the now much faded pair of photographs preserved in *Or. Dr. VII* (the Royal Asiatic Society portfolio, here pls. XX, XXVI). According to GADD (*S.A.* p. 111) he took no photographs at all. But this is apparently a misreading of a statement in a letter from Rawlinson to the Trustees 3/10/54 written from Baghdad. The fact that he was then awaiting 'a new instrument from Paris adapted to the waxed paper process' which seems not to have come does not exclude his having experimented already with a less successful machine. In another letter of 5/2/55 Rawlinson writes that Boutcher must draw or photograph everything left behind, but will have to stay on as he has been hindered by fever and his photographic apparatus seems to be useless from want of a *better* camera and fresh chemical. [My italics, R.D.B.].

[3] See WATERFIELD, *L.N.* p. 184.

[4] See LOFTUS, *Travels in Chaldaea and Susiana*, footnote p. 180.

[5] E. UNGER, *Die Reliefs Tiglatpilesars III aus Nimrud* (Publikationer der Kaiserlichen Osmanischen Museen V, 1917).

Weidner in Graz and Dr. Gadd in the British Museum began simultaneously a fresh approach to the sculptures. While Weidner (assisted notably by his pupil Dr. M. Falkner) aimed at collecting and recording systematically the widely dispersed fragments from all over the world, Gadd, with some very slight assistance from myself, concentrated on piecing together the history of the excavations from the Layard manuscript papers in the British Museum and the Trustees' records and making known some of the contents of the unpublished volumes of drawings in the British Museum and their implications. After publication of his *Stones of Assyria* (1936)[1] Gadd's active interest on the subject largely waned and it became obvious from the survey of material now disclosed that what was now needed (and indeed always had been needed from the archaeological viewpoint, and was long overdue) was the fullest possible publication of the material in the form of sculptures and bas-reliefs from each palace, palace by palace, room by room, slab by slab so that it might be possible to study and, where feasible to identify, explain and read the continuous narrative recorded in the reliefs of each room as a whole, not merely to admire isolated slabs or parts of them as works of art in this or that collection. True, something of this comprehensive approach to the palace as a whole had been achieved at an early date for Khorsabad by Botta and Flandin with their engravings in the great *Monument de Ninive* (5 vols., Paris 1849–50), (their work supplemented by the Oriental Institute of Chicago in recent times) and indeed, as we have said, a far-sighted but little known scholar, the Reverend Archibald Paterson attempted something similar in the Palace of Sennacherib; but as he had no access to the unpublished drawings, his work was, though very useful, necessarily very incomplete. A full study of the so-called *Bīt ḫilāni* in Ashurbanipal's North Palace at Nineveh was published by Meissner & Opitz in 1940 but based entirely on Gadd's work it contained little original.

It was therefore planned to republish the palaces and their sculptures as far as possible, after fruitful discussions with Professor Weidner in Graz in 1959. The first result was the publication by the Trustees in 1962 of the sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III from the Central and South-West Palaces at Nimrud, by Dr. M. Falkner and myself.[2] The sculptures of the North-West Palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nimrud were shortly afterwards much clarified by the work of Professor Stearns, published in Graz in 1961.[3] The present volume represents the next step of the plan accepted by the Trustees to make available in an integral publication all the surviving sculptures of the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh, excavated in nearly all cases under their authority in various campaigns. It is hoped to complete it with the complete publication of the sculptures from the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh.

It has inevitably proved an awkward problem to decide how always to distinguish between sculptures of Sennacherib, the builder of his 'Nonsuch' palace at the South-West corner of Nineveh, and those of his grandson Ashurbanipal, builder of the North Palace. We know that Ashurbanipal piously restored at least part of his murdered grandfather's palace and added to its adornment a magnificient series of his own battle scenes, depicting the Ulai Battle. Other series too, though less certainly identified as carved by Ashurbanipal's sculptors, have been so claimed by W. Nagel for the South-West Palace. Conversely, some of the cruder sculptures in the North Palace of Ashurbanipal may well prove to have been removed hither from an earlier building, such as that of Sennacherib. In view, however, of this uncertainty, it became imperative to publish the two palaces strictly separately, instead of attempting to include in one volume all the dispersed works attributable to Ashurbanipal. This volume is therefore devoted exclusively to the reliefs of the North Palace of Ashurbanipal but for chronological reasons this may be regarded as Vol. II. It is hoped in due course to publish the South-West Palace of Sennacherib as Vol. I. Since, however, the discovery and excavation of the two palaces were so inextricably intertwined over nearly a century and a quarter, it was decided to publish here and now the summary history of those achievements, compiled from various sources, published and unpublished, but nowhere else available as a whole. What follows, however, is a mere chronicle of the events of discoveries with some reference to their meaning, followed by a catalogue of the reliefs.

No attempt has been made in this work to assess the variety or quality of styles or to study variations in details of costume and equipment and other details. In the first place, as we have said, the reliefs of the Palace of Ashurbanipal are by no means so uniform in quality of execution as to reassure one that they are all definitely of the same date. While the majority and the finest are undoubtedly designed for that monarch himself, others, such as those of Room G, or the 'Susiana' Room, Room F, are so markedly inferior as to give rise to the suspicion either that they were removed from some earlier palace and incorporated by Ashurbanipal's architects in his, or that he employed, along with the most proficient and skilled stone carvers, other masons, elderly or undertrained, who worked in their own ways alongside the others.

Those interested may study W. NAGEL, *Die neuassyrischen Reliefstile unter Sanherib und Assurbanaplu* (Berlin 1967), 'Meister und Gesellenarbeit an neuassyrischen Reliefs', *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Arch. Inst.* Vol. 73, 1958, pp. 1–8, or NAGEL, *N.R.S.A.*; or for details, B. HROUDA, *Die Kulturgeschichte des Assyrischen Flachbildes* (Saarbrücken Beitrage zur Altertumskunde, Vol. 2, Bonn 1965).

* * *

A word is required to justify the use here of Ashurbanipal as the form of the name of the Assyrian king, 'Aššur-bani-apli'.[4] It is customary in England where an Assyrian king's name has been sanctified for three centuries by English Bible translations of the Hebrew to use the Biblical form as there rendered, e.g. Tiglath-pileser, Sargon, Esarhaddon for Tukulti-apil-ešarra, Šarru-kînu or Aššur-aha-iddina. No such justification exists for spelling Aššur-bāni-apli as Ashurbanipal, merely the habit formed after a century of following the versions given (partly in error) by the earliest decipherers; that of Ashurbanipal being influenced by identification with confused Greek recollection of his name, which gave it as Sardanapalos. But it has stuck, and become familiar in English, and sounds less uncouth to English ears than the literal transliteration.

Another justification is required for the spelling of the name Ummanaldash as Ummanaldas. This Elamite opponent of the Assyrian king is often mentioned, sometimes as Ummanaldash, occasionally as Ummanaldasi or Ummanaldasu. It is clear that as often at that date in Assyria, the distinction of 'sh' and 's' certainly in this case was none too clear.

We may also give the following definitions of terms much employed in this work.

relief, bas-relief	'the part of a design which projects from a plane surface in order to give a natural or solid appearance' (*Oxford English Dictionary*), hence any piece of sculpture so carved, here usually set up vertically at the foot of the walls of palace rooms as decoration (see *dado*);
slab	'a flat broad and comparatively thick piece or mass of stone' (*O.E.D.*), hence here a stone usually rectangular, uncarved or, if carved, in low relief, containing one or more registers of sculptured figures or scenes;
register	a horizontal band of scenes or figures sculpted in relief, often extending across two or more slabs;
frieze (as last)	if as sometimes consisting of two bands, a horizontal upper and lower band, usually then illustrating two more or less independent narrative sequences;
orthostat	(not in *O.E.D.*) one of a range of upright stone slabs laid vertically along the base of a wall (often in Greek architecture supporting the wall) and often carved with a horizontally running frieze;
dado	'the finishing running along the lower part of the walls of a room made to represent a continuous pedestal', hence any lining 'of the lower part of an interior wall different from that of the upper part' (*O.E.D.*).

My own task, made heavy often by distraction through many other duties, has been much helped by encouragement and actual assistance from many colleagues and friends. I would mention in particular Professor E. Weidner of Graz, and the late Professor C. J. Gadd.

[1] The usefulness of this otherwise outstandingly important book is somewhat marred by its giving nowhere any measurements of the sculptures described.

[2] R. D. BARNETT & M. FALKNER *The Sculptures . . . from the Central and South-West Palaces at Nimrud.* London 1962.

[3] J. B. STEARNS, *Reliefs from the Palace of Ashurnasirpal* II, *A.f.O.* Beiheft 15 (1961).

[4] On the meaning of the name ('Ashur-is-begetter-of-the-son'), see J. J. STAMM, *Die Assyrische Namengebung* (*M.V.A.G.* 44, 1939) p. 217; K. L. TALLQVIST, *Assyrian Personal Names* (Helsingfors 1914), p. 35.

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CORRIGENDA

TEXT

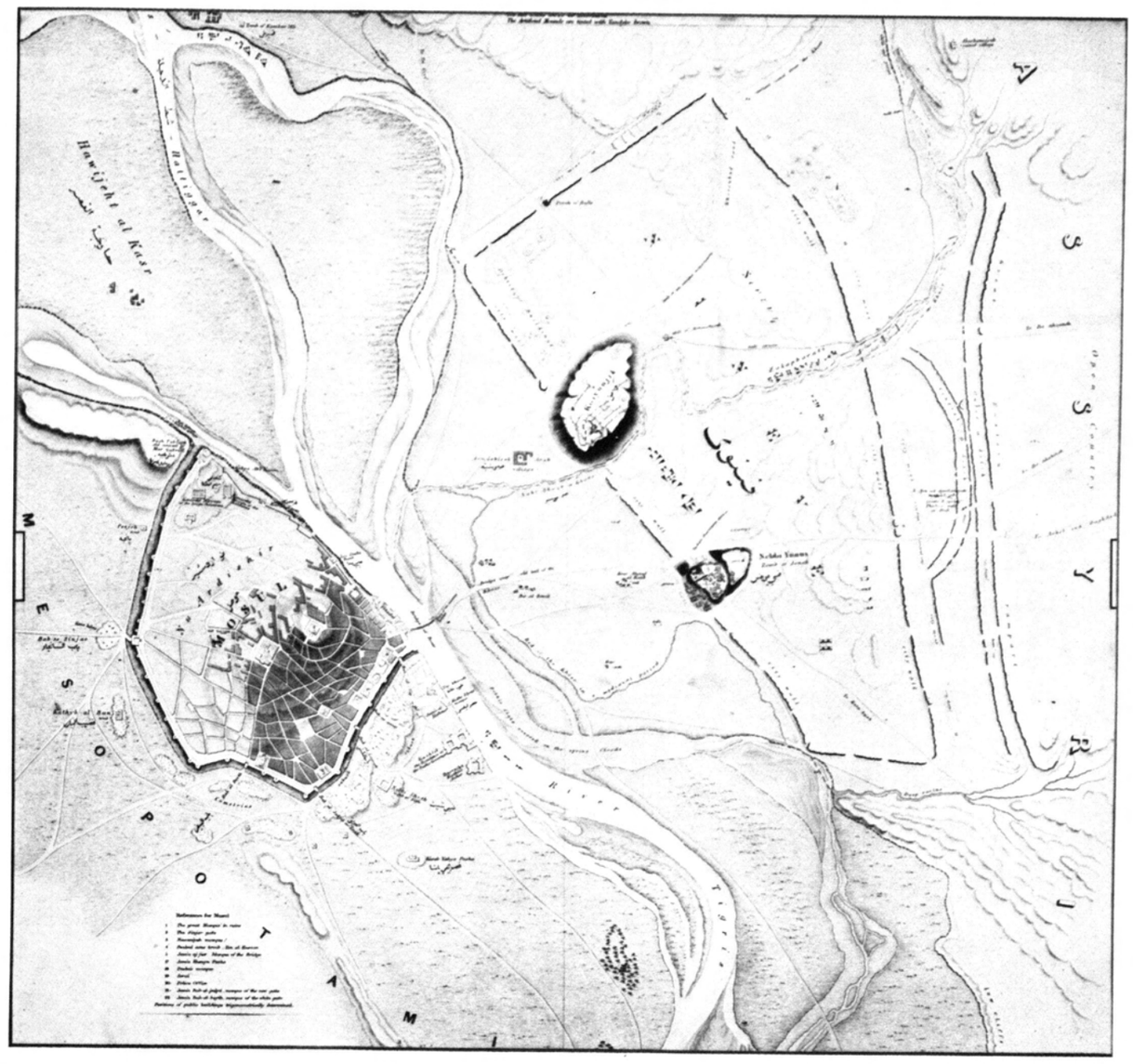
Since the completion of the manuscript of this publication, some of the sculptures described have changed their places. The following are the most notable changes:

The sculptures formerly owned by the Royal Geographical Society, London (RGS 1–9) have now been acquired by the British Museum, and are now renumbered with B.M. numbers as given on p. 73. The relief owned by the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey (Woburn 114), has been deposited on loan with the British Museum (L. 1160). The relief, pl. LXXd, fragment in the Calman Collection, has apparently been sold. Its present whereabouts are unrecorded. The whereabouts of the fragment formerly in the Putyatin Collection, Moscow, (pl. LXXII) is unrecorded. Several of the reliefs formerly in the De Clercq Collection, viz. those then numbered De Clercq, Catalogue 21, 22, 23–4 in 1969, were acquired by the Louvre and now bear the numbers of its Department of Oriental Antiquities, viz: AO 22.199, 22.200, 22.201, 22.202 (pls. XXIV, LXII, XXII). Finally, the pieces in the Barracco Museum, Rome, have been given new numbers.

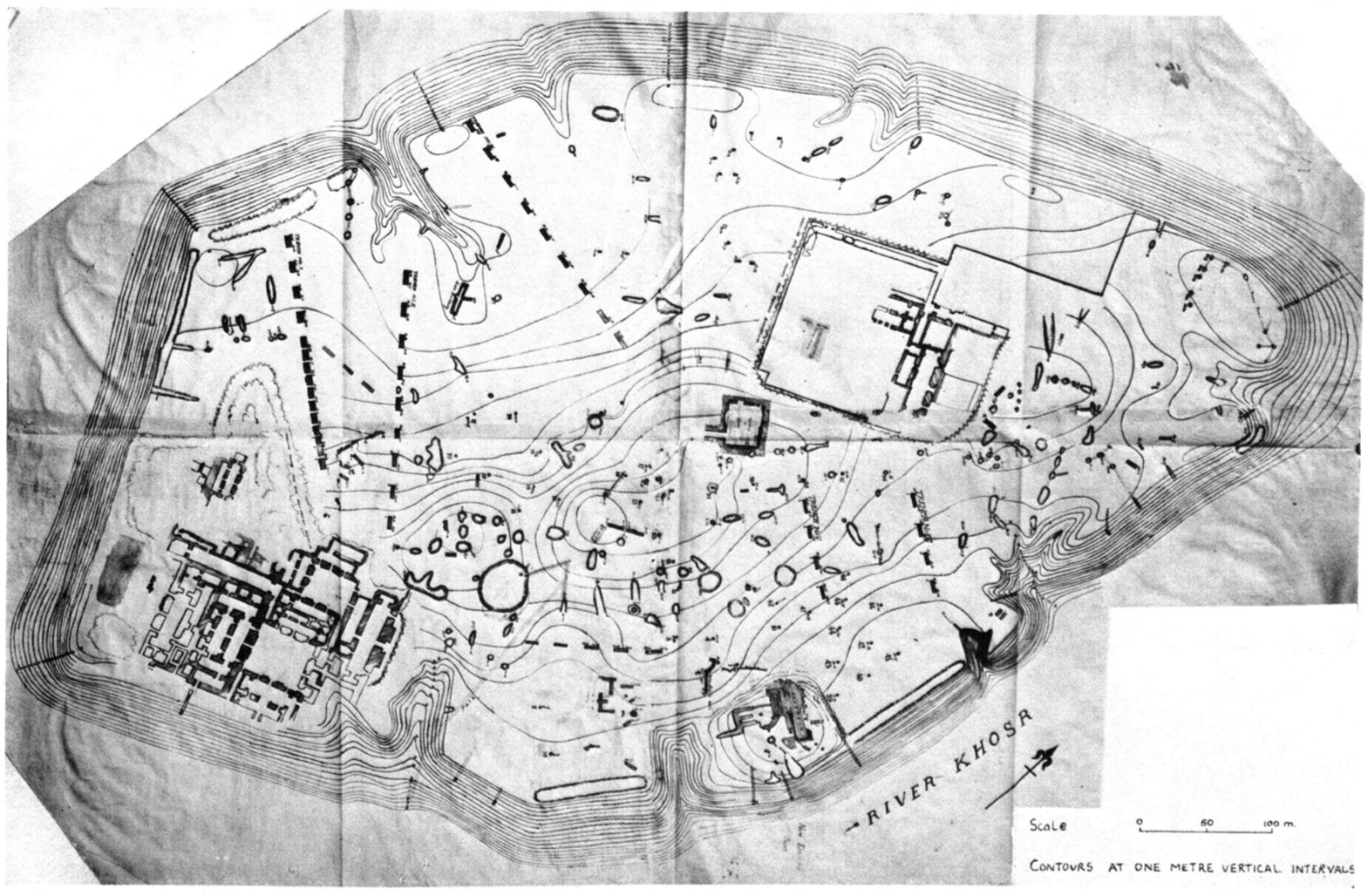
PLATES

Since the printing of the plates the following small points have come to light:

Plate III	for 'Louvre 59' read 'Louvre AO 19901'.
Plate X, top	for 'Room C (North West Wall)' read 'Room C (South West Wall)'.
Plate XII	for 'Room C (North West Wall)' read 'Room C (South West Wall)'.
Plates XVIII, XIX	for 'South West Wall' read 'South East Wall'.
Plate XX	add 'South West and North West Walls'.
Plate XXI	add 'North West Wall'.
Plate XXXII	for 'Drawings by W. Boutcher' read 'Drawing by', etc.
Plate XXXIV	for 'Louvre 81 bis' read 'AO 19921'. for 'AO 19921' read 'AO 19912'.
Plate XLVII	for 'Drawing by W. Boutcher' read 'Drawings by', etc.
Plate XLVIII	for 'Drawing by W. Boutcher' read 'Drawings by', etc.
Plate LIV	for 'Or.Dr. V 45' read 'Or.Dr. V 44'. for MUŠHUŠŠU read MUŠḪUŠŠU
Plate LVIII, top	for (fallen into S) read ('fallen into S')
Plate LX	for Or.Dr. VI 24 read Or.Dr. V 24.
Plate LXI	line comes too far left. for 'Louvre AO 19909 + 19906' read 'Louvre AO 19906'.
Plate LXV	on caption for 'plate LXIII' read 'plate LXIV'.
Plate LXVII	add 'PLATE'.

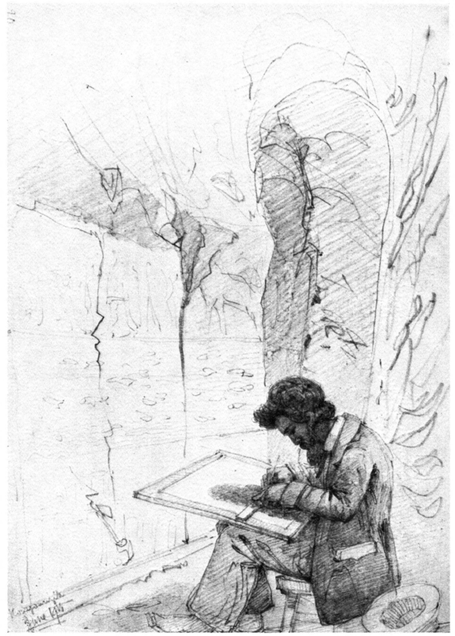


1. Map of Nineveh by Captain Felix Jones

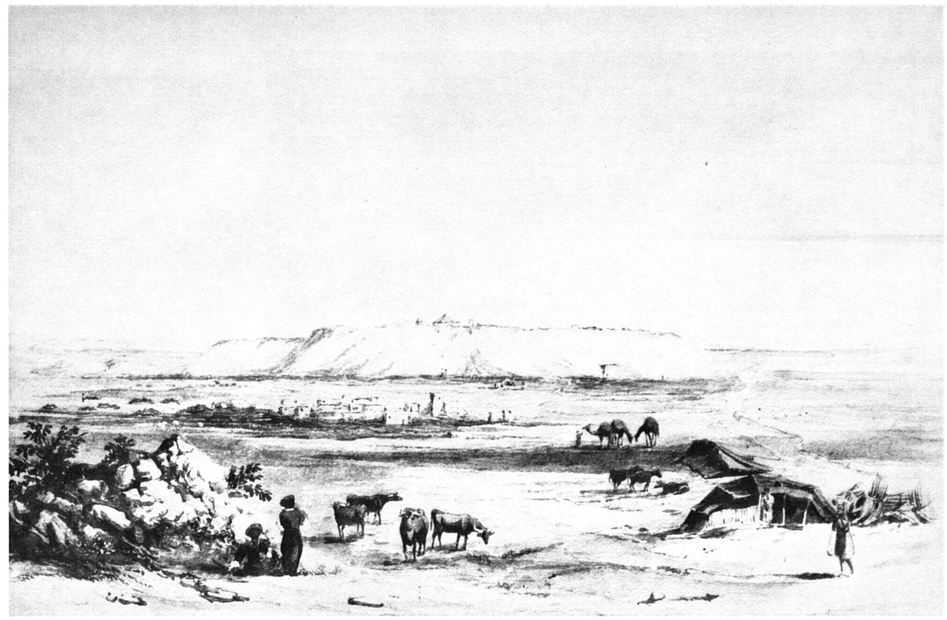


2. Plan of Kuyunjik by L. W. King with additions by R. C. Thompson

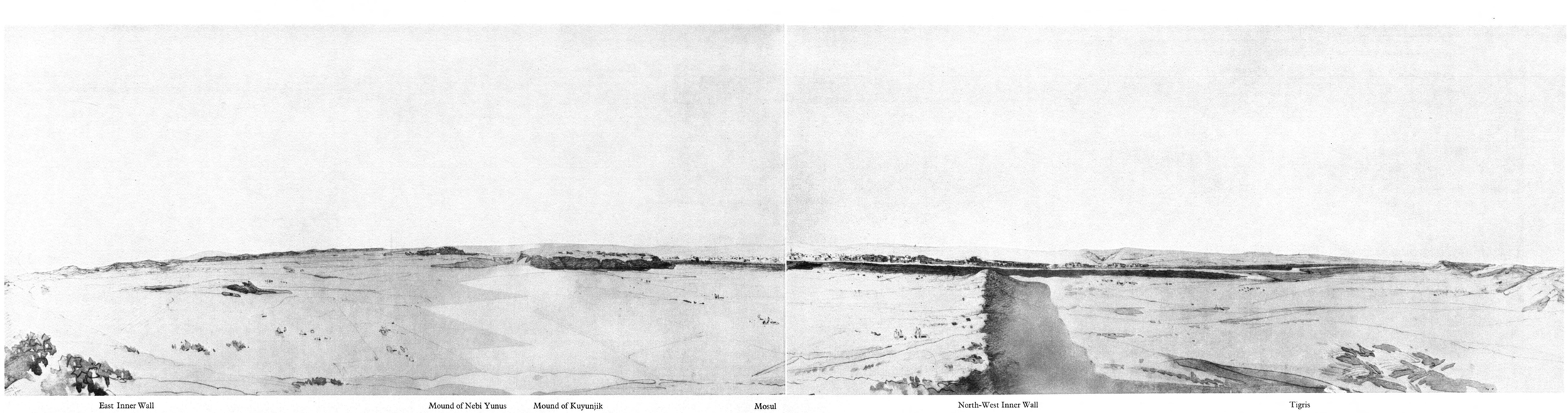
TEXT-PLATE 1



1. 'Mr. Layard at Kuyunjik' by S. C. Malan, 1850



3. A view of Kuyunjik probably by A. H. Layard



2. 'Panorama of Nineveh; from the inner wall; looking S.W.' by S. C. Malan 1850

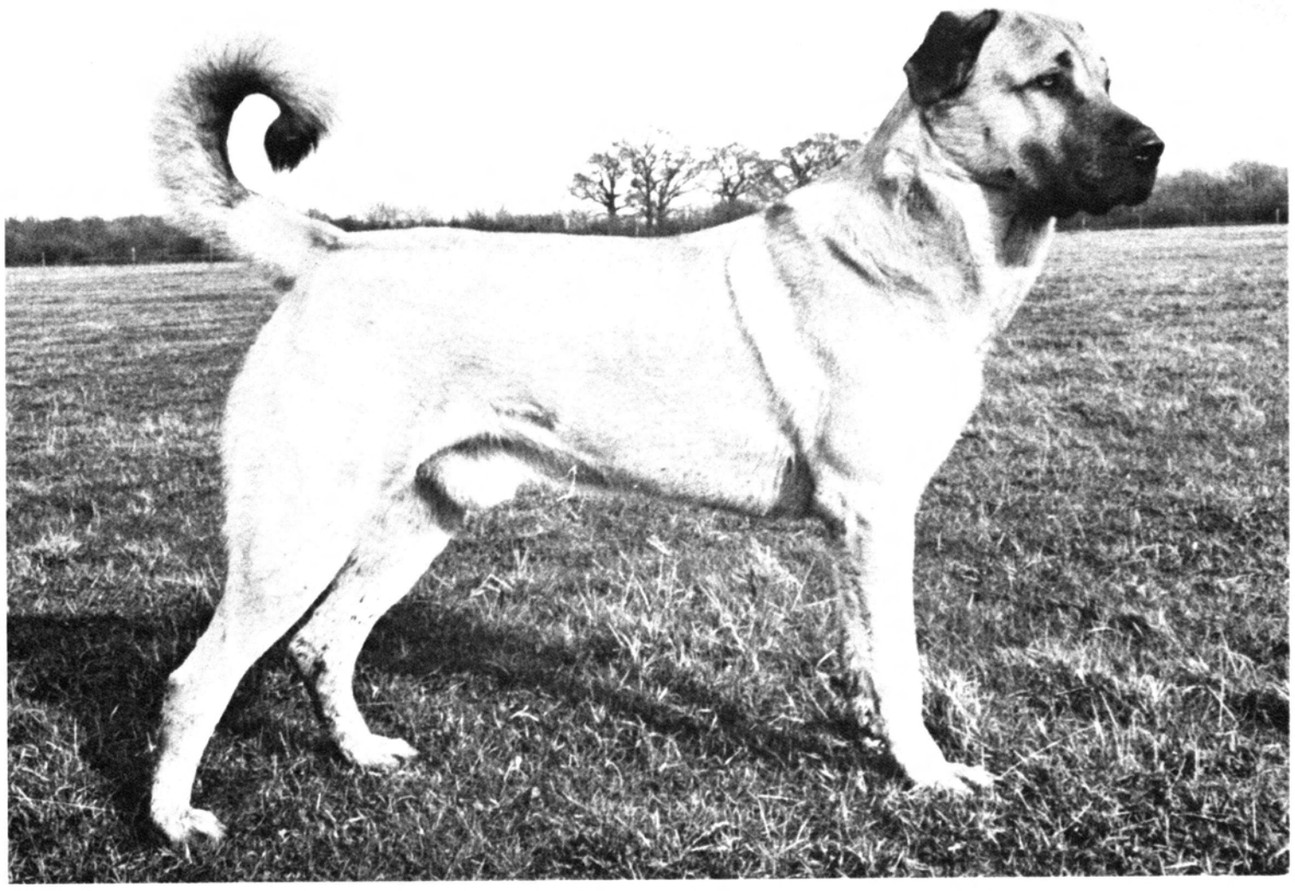


1. Oblique aerial view of Kuyunjik looking West, 1933



2. Vertical aerial view of Kuyunjik, 1932

(Photographs by courtesy of Ministry of Defence, Air Force Department. Crown copyright reserved)

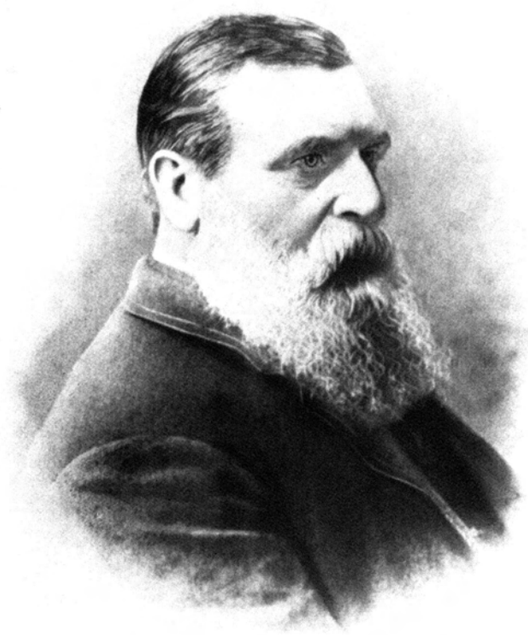


1. The Modern Turkish Sheepdog



2. 'The Hunter Hunted' by Briton Rivière, R.A. Formerly in the Whitworth Institute, Manchester (see p. 13)

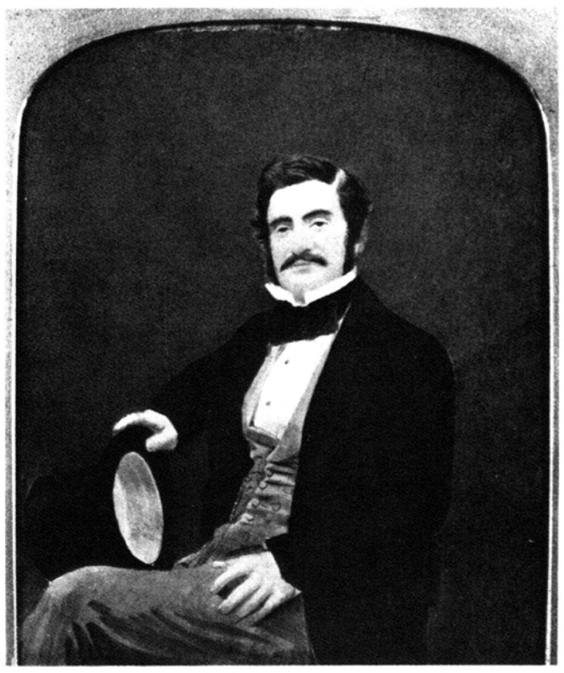
TEXT-PLATE 4

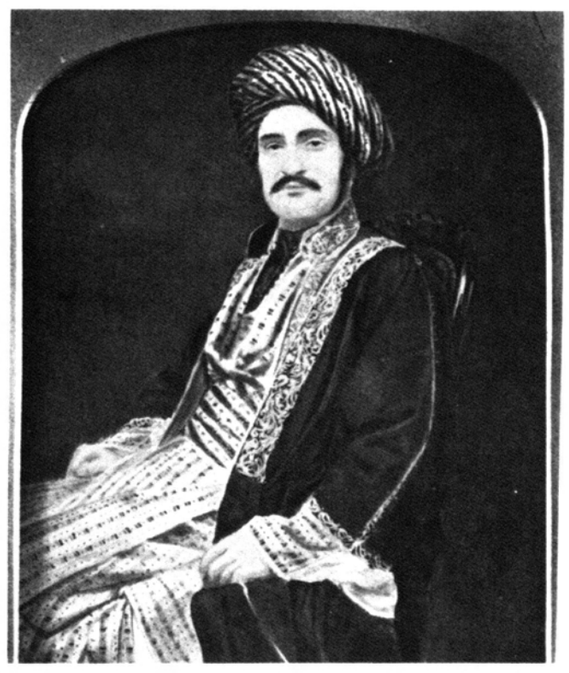


1. William Boutcher (1814–1888)



2. William Kennett Loftus (1812?–1858)

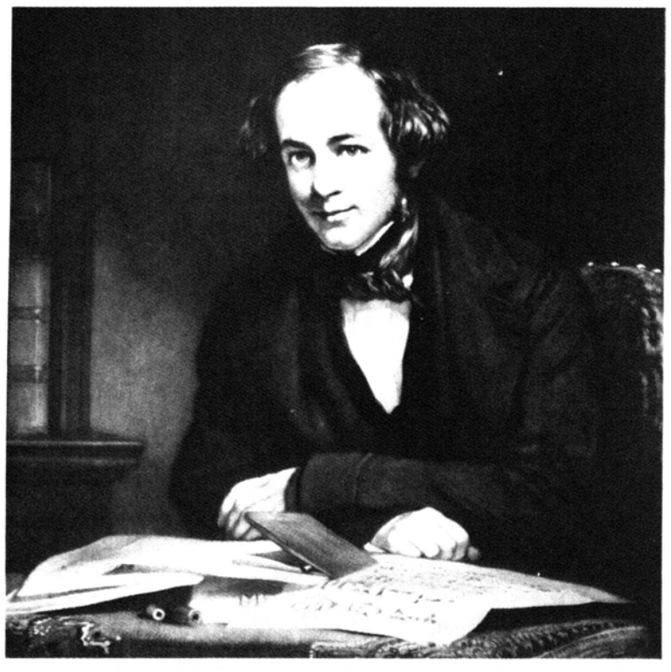




3. and 4. Hormuzd Rassam (1826–1910) in European and Oriental dress



5. George Smith (1840–1876)



6. Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson (1810–1895). Engraving by S. Cousins, R.A., after a painting by H. W. Philips, 1850

INTRODUCTION

A SUMMARY HISTORY OF NINEVEH

Nineveh, one of the most ancient capitals of Assyria and one of the great cities of the ancient world, lay approximately 1.5 km east of the junction of the river Tigris with its tributary the Khosr opposite the city of Mosul on the West or right bank. It is mentioned several times in the Bible, according to Genesis x.12, as having been founded in the days of Nimrod, immediately after the Flood. According to the account of the Book of Jonah (ascribed to the 8th century B.C. in 2 Kings xiv.25) the circuit of the city was three days' journey (Jonah iii.3), and the number (Jonah iv.11) of the inhabitants of Nineveh was much more than 12 × 10,000, and, even if there is here some poetic licence, it would seem reasonable that the population of Nineveh at its peak in 7th century B.C. may have reached 100,000.[1] The ancient city, as a whole, stretched in a vast rectangle over a great area. Sennacherib surrounded it with walls (these are still in existence in part) the circumference of which reached approximately 7¾ miles (12.5 km). Not all this space, however, need have been occupied: it is possible that within the walls there was a large area which was devoted to agriculture. This area is dominated by two great mounds. The first is the ancient citadel of Nineveh, which formed a flat pear-shaped hill near the centre of the western area of the city and is called today by the Turkish name, Kuyunjik ('little sheep'). It rises to a height of 43 ft (14.10 m) above the surrounding area, its circumference is 7,695 ft; it covers an area of 93 acres (.75 × .5 km) approximately (see fig. 2). This citadel contained the palaces of the Assyrian state and temples of its gods. South of the citadel is the second smaller Tell called today Nebi Yunus ('Prophet Jonah'), where, according to Moslem tradition, is buried the prophet himself. The site is covered by a large mosque, as the place is revered by Moslems. The excavations at Kuyunjik of 1932[2] which laid the foundation for the study of prehistory of Northern Mesopotamia, by descending in a deep shaft 90 ft (27.5 m) deep through five main strata to virgin soil, showed that Nineveh was an important settlement from its foundation in about 4500 B.C., since sherds of the Hassuna, Al 'Ubaid and Samarra types were found there. The excavation showed that four-fifths of the Tell were to be assigned to the prehistoric period, and that the Assyrian occupation was comparatively brief. If, however, the tradition ascribing Jonah to the 8th century B.C. is correct, it is hard to see how at that date prior to its grandiose enlargement by Sennacherib, Nineveh can have been already a city so important and a royal capital as large as his book describes it.

THE TEMPLES AND PALACES OF NINEVEH

Nineveh was a centre of the Assyrian cult of the goddess Ishtar from the earliest times. A document from the time of Shamshi-Adad I (1813–1781 B.C.) one of the earliest kings of Assyria, speaks of the rebuilding of E-mish-mish or E-mash-mash., the Temple of Ishtar, which had been built by Manishtushu, the son of Sargon, King of Akkad, about 2300 B.C.[3] Hammurapi of Babylon (1792–1750 B.C.) mentions it in the introduction to his laws, where he describes himself as 'the king who raised the name of the goddess Ishtar in E-mish-mish'.[4] By having made repairs to the Temple of Ishtar, he was doubtless proclaiming himself the protector of Nineveh and other parts of the land of Assyria. When Assyrian power revived, other Assyrian monarchs made repairs to the Temple of Ishtar—beginning with Ashur-uballiṭ (1365–1330 B.C.)—who first emancipated Assyria from the Hurrian–Mitannian Empire—Shalmaneser I (1274–1245 B.C.), Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208 B.C.), Ashur-resh-ishi I (1133–1116 B.C.), Tiglath-pileser I (1115–1077 B.C.), Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.). Sennacherib mentions that a part of the structure of the Temple of Ishtar stood opposite his palace, and it seems that it was joined to the palace by a passage flanked on both sides by reliefs illustrating the king proceeding to the Temple accompanied by members of his family, musicians and bodyguard. In a deep trial pit on the same spot, Rassam (see below, p. 9) found a statue of a naked woman of natural size, possibly a statue of the goddess herself, set up by Ashur-bel-kala (1074–1057 B.C.). Further repairs to the Temple were made by Ashurbanipal.[5]

The temple of Nabu, god of writing, was uncovered at Nineveh in the years 1904 and 1927–8.[6] It was situated in the centre of the Tell south of the South corner of the Palace of Ashurbanipal. The name of the builder of the temple was not clarified. However, we know that Adad-nirari III restored this temple and reconsecrated it to Nabu in 788 B.C., and Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) carried out a further repair. It was suggested by the excavator that this structure was the original house of the rich library of cuneiform material gathered by Ashurbanipal but discovered largely in the Palace of Sennacherib, but if so it appears very small to have served for the purpose.

Other temples, such as the *bīt akīti* (the temple for the New Year's feast) which Sargon built, the temples of Sin, Nergal, Shamash, Bel and a ziggurat, etc. are mentioned in documents, but have not been discovered by excavation.

PALACES

From the chance discovery of isolated bricks bearing the names of kings and their dedicatory inscriptions, we learn of the existence of several palaces built by early kings, destroyed or not yet found. Such bricks have been uncovered from structures or palaces of Shalmaneser (apparently Shalmaneser I, 1274–1245 B.C.), Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208 B.C.), Tiglath-pileser I (1115–1077 B.C.), Adad-nirari II (911–891 B.C.), and Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.). The earliest palace the remnants of the structure of which have been discovered, is the Palace of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) famous as the creator of the neo-Assyrian Empire.[7] However, it was clearly Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) who made Nineveh into his principal residence, having already as Crown Prince built himself there a mansion called the *bīt redûti*. On his accession in 705 B.C., probably with the aid and counsel of his energetic West Semitic queen Naqi'a or Zakūtū,[8] in the South-West corner of the mound Sennacherib built a new palace (400 × 700 royal cubits) in place of his early smaller palace (120 × 360 royal cubits) situated there, and called it 'palace without equal'. It is known today as the South-West Palace (see fig. 1). This palace, finished in 694 B.C.,[9] consisted of a group of long rooms built according to Assyrian style around two or three large courtyards. They, or part of them, he says, were built in the Syrian *bīt ḫilāni* style (i.e. with open porticos)[10] and decorated with precious woods, metals and stones. The majority of the walls of the rooms were decorated with reliefs depicting battle scenes or palace

[1] See MALLOWAN, *Nimrud and its Remains*, vol. I, p. 72; THOMPSON, *L.A.A.A*[2].
[2] See below, pp. 26–7.
[3] R. C. THOMPSON, *L.A.A.A.* 19 (1932), 105–107 and pls. LXXXI–LXXXIV. R. BORGER, *Einleitung in die Assyrischen Königsinschriften* I (1961), 9–12. F. J. STEPHENS, *Yale Oriental Series* IX (1937), no. 70.
[4] THOMPSON, *C.E.N.*, p. 116 ff. DRIVER & MILES, *The Babylonian Laws* (Oxford 1955), pp. 12–13.
[5] On the excavation of this temple see below p. 26.
[6] See below p. 26.
[7] THOMPSON, *C.E.N*, pp. 80–1.
[8] On her, see H. LEWY, 'Naqi'a-Nitocris', *J.N.E.S.* XI, 195.
[9] Nagel, *op. cit.* p. 7.
[10] See below p. 18 but also p. 29.

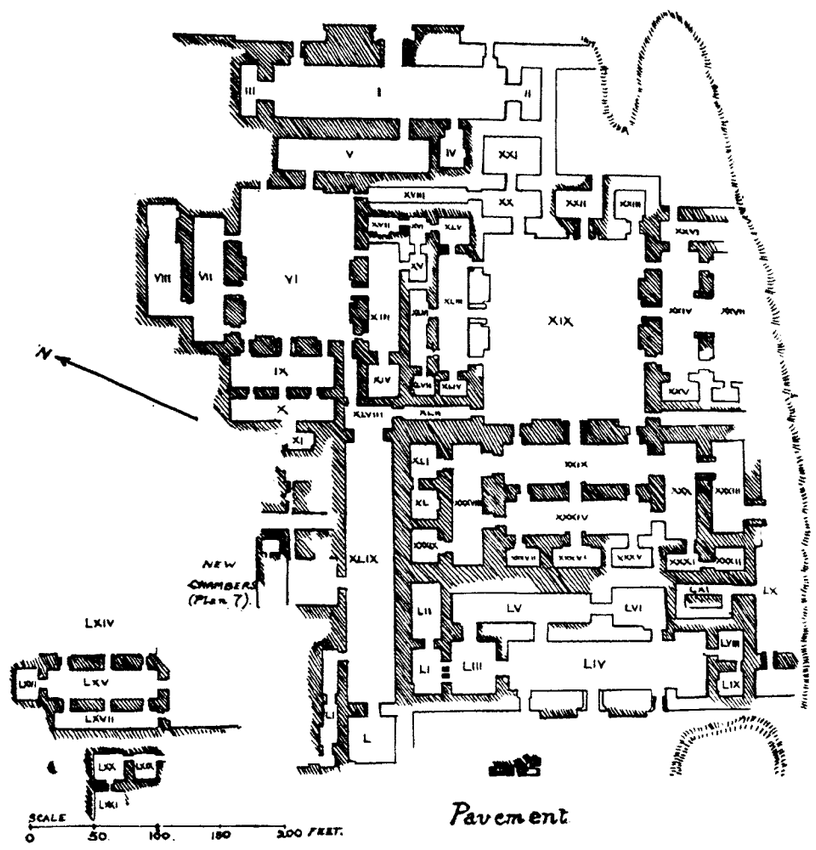


Fig. 1. Plan of the South-West Palace, Kuyunjik

building operations. On either side of the gates were stationed winged lions or bulls with human heads (see p. 25 and pl. I). Beside the palace, apparently at the North-West side of the Tell, Sennacherib planted a garden containing fruit trees from all over his kingdom. Sennacherib also determined the appearance of the city as it later appeared generations after. Strong walls with fifteen gates enclosed it; The Ashur Gate, Sennacherib Gate (The Ḫalzi Gate), the Shamash Gate, the Ninlil Gate, the Mushlalu Gate, the Shibaniba Gate, and the Ḫalaḫḫi Gate to the east; the Adad Gate, the Nergal Gate, and the Sin Gate to the North; the Water Gate, the Quay Gate, the Desert Gate, the Armoury Gate and the Ḫanduri Gate, to the West. A royal road crossed the city from the Garden or Sin Gate, 62 cubits wide, and was marked by stelae;[1] within the city Sennacherib paved streets, dug canals and planted trees. From the hills of Bavian and Jerwan to the north he supplied water to the city by means of a large stone-paved canal over 50 miles long which brought the water of the Gomel Su from Bavian, where the stone sluice gates were built.[2] At the village of Jerwan the canal, 72 ft wide, crossed the ravine by stone aqueduct 918 ft long with five pointed arches, reminiscent of that depicted on the relief of Ashurbanipal (pl. I). This canal was built in 15 months. The whole rectangular area of the broad city was enclosed by walls. However, the outer of these walls was not completed on two sides, to the north and to the south. In addition to the palace, Sennacherib also built a palace for his designated heir, Ashur-shum-ushabshi. This palace, called the *bīt nakkapti*, was discovered by L. W. King on a flat area in the East part of the mound and in part re-excavated in the years 1928–32.[3] It seems that in the disorders that occurred with the death of Sennacherib, part of his palace went up in flames and remained in ruins for 40 years. Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) built himself a great palace on the second, smaller, Tell of Nineveh, today called Nebi Yunus, on the ruins of a building which had served previously as an armoury (*bīt kutalli*) for Sennacherib.[4] Part of the palace belonging to Sennacherib and Esarhaddon was discovered by chance by Layard in 1851 and was dug by the Turks in 1852–3. Rassam undertook a trial dig in the year 1879 on the spot. More recently Egyptian statues have been found in the area in the course of building a new road. However, the sanctity of the place, which is dedicated to the prophet Jonah in Moslem tradition, prevents the undertaking of any further excavations on the spot. Ashurbanipal brought back once again the seat of principal residence to the main Tell, Kuyunjik. Not content with refurbishing and decorating his grandfather's palace in the South-West corner, where he dwelt from 660 B.C., he also built himself a new palace at the north end of the Tell, partly on the site of the *bīt redûti*. It was still unfinished in 636 B.C.[5] This palace of Ashurbanipal, partly uncovered by Rassam and Loftus in the years 1853–4, was found to contain reliefs which show us Assyrian art at its zenith. However an equally great, if not the greatest, legacy of Ashurbanipal was the large royal library, containing some 25,000 cuneiform documents, literary, ritual, scientific, mythological, lexicographical, astronomic and historical as well as general documents, royal letters and treaties. These documents were recovered in more or less fragmentary state by Layard, Rassam, George Smith, Budge, King and Campbell Thompson. Most of them are now in the British Museum.

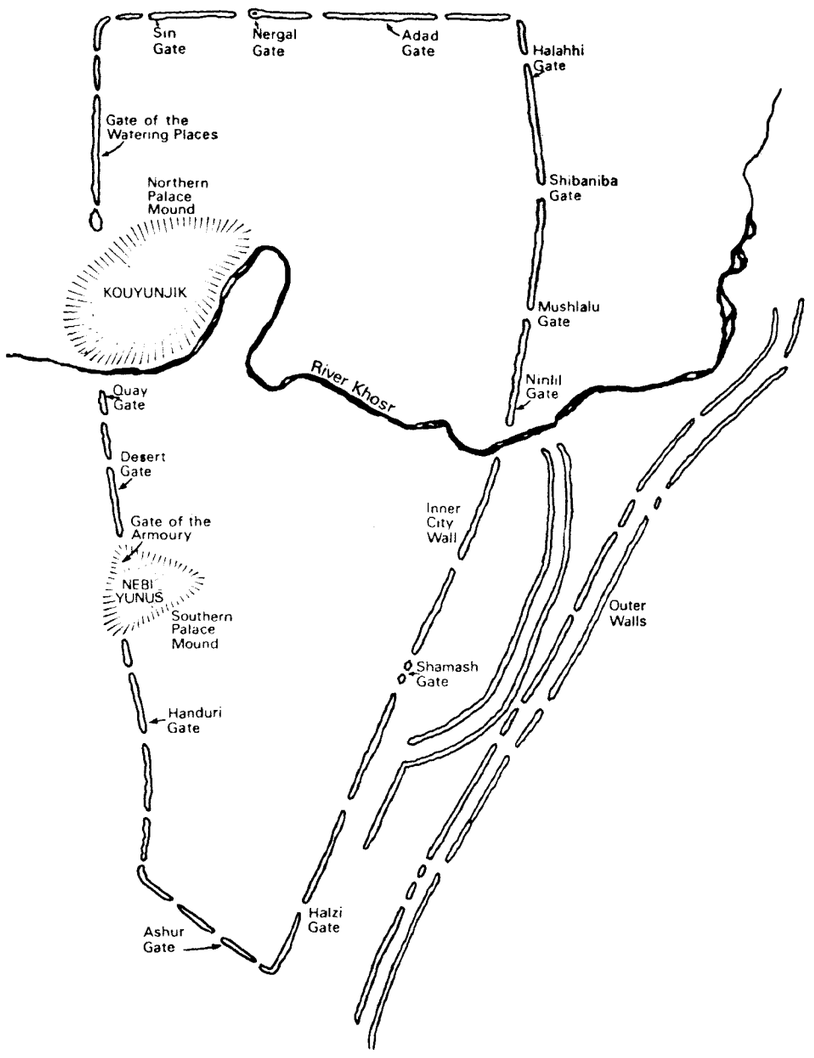


Fig. 2. The circuit of Nineveh

At the end of the reign of Ashurbanipal, it seems that, due to ever-growing military threats, the royal residence was moved from Nineveh perhaps to Harran in North-East Syria. After the reigns of two weak kings, Ashur-etel-ilani and Sin-shar-ishkun, Nineveh was captured, plundered and sacked in the month of Ab, 612 B.C., by the joint forces of the Medes, Scythians and Babylonians and the city became a ruined and desolate Tell, as proclaimed in the prophecies of Zephaniah and Nahum.[6] The capital of world empire was moved elsewhere. When Xenophon and the Ten Thousand Greek soldiers passed by the ruins in 401 B.C., they saw a vast undefended wall of bricks built on a stone base full of shells,[7] near the city whose name they heard as Μέσπιλα i.e. *muspalu*, 'low place', i.e. the lower city as opposed to the citadel or upper city. The name seems to be preserved in that of Mawsîl, earlier form of Mosul. In the Roman period, a fortress was apparently built here, and at the time of Claudius there was here a Roman settlement with the name of Ninos or Ninua. There was also a settlement in Sassanid times and in early Moslem times, but this was apparently destroyed at the time of the Mongol invasions at the end of the 14th century A.D.

[1] One of these is in the British Museum, found by Budge, BM 124800 (PATERSON, *P.S.* pl. 3). Another, found by Ross, is in the Museum of the Ancient East at Istanbul.
[2] T. JACOBSEN & S. LLOYD, *Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwan*, *O.I.P.* XXIV, Chicago, 1935.
[3] See below, p. 26.
[4] See NAGEL, pp. 7–8.
[5] NAGEL, pp. 8–9.
[6] ZEPHANIAH, ii.13–15; NAHUM ii.6–10; ii.7).
[7] G. SMITH, *A.D.* (1875), p. 90, reports that the mound of Nineveh was once surrounded by a casing of large squared stones, some of which had been cleared 'by some former excavator' but that these and the basement wall of Ashurbanipal's palace had by his time been removed by the Turks to build a bridge over the Tigris.

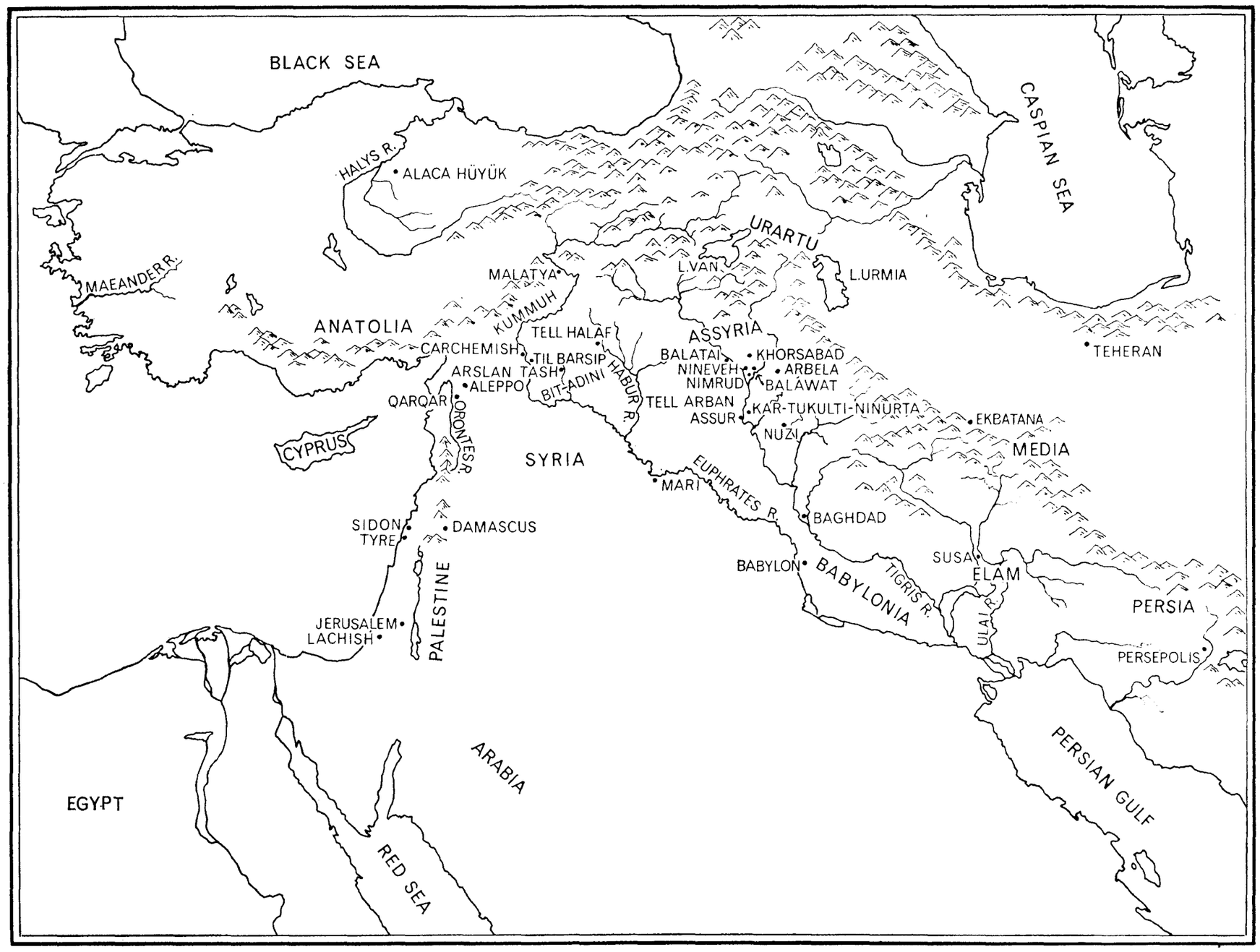


Fig. 3. Map of the Ancient Near East

THE HISTORY OF INVESTIGATION AND EXCAVATION AT NINEVEH

Nevertheless, the fact that Nineveh lay concealed by the great mound outside the walls of mediaeval Mosul was still remembered in the then cultured and wealthy Arabic, Jewish and Syrian Christian communities of that area as late as the 12th century. For in about 1173 the great Spanish Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, visited Mosul and recorded that it was 'a very large and ancient city situated on the river Hiddekel (Tigris) and is connected with Nineveh by means of a bridge. Nineveh is in ruins but around the ruins there are villages and hamlets, and the extent of the city may be determined by the walls, which extend forty parasangs to the city of Irbit. The city of Nineveh is on the river Hiddekel'[1]. It was also noticed by the Arab traveller Ibn Battuta.[2] Benjamin's itinerary was first edited with an English translation in 1840–1 by A. Asher, but this passage and others apparently attracted little notice from those British and foreign travellers and scholars who were becoming busy in locating the famous ancient cities of ancient Mesopotamia.[3] Of these, the most remarkable and diligent before Layard was assuredly Claudius James Rich, the East India Company's Resident at Baghdad, a brilliant linguist and orientalist, who in a short life and career not merely amassed a collection of nearly 800 Oriental manuscripts, but also a noteworthy collection of Babylonian and Assyrian antiquities. His most notable contributions to Mesopotamian archaeology were a Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon (1818) and *A Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan and Nineveh*, 2 vols. (1836), published posthumously. The British Museum purchased his collections from his widow, and thereby laid the foundation of their own collection of choice Mesopotamian antiquities and greatly enriched their holdings of Oriental manuscripts. Rich's *Memoir* however had aroused much interest, especially in Paris, and Paul Émile Botta, French consul in Mosul, was officially charged to search for the site of ancient Nineveh; he made some soundings first at Nebi Yunus, tomb of the prophet Jonah near Mosul, then moved to Kuyunjik, but made little progress and gave it up.

[1] M. N. ADLER, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (1907).

[2] Thus, in point of fact, the connection between Nineveh and this area was never lost among Arab geographers, and at the end of the 18th century, the Tell of Nebi Yunus rather than Kuyunjik was called Kalat Nineveh or Nuniya ('citadel of Nineveh'). BUDGE, *B.N.T.* II, p. 9.

[3] On Layard's knowledge of these sources and his doubts as to their value, see p. 4.

THE ARRIVAL OF LAYARD

At this point, there arrived at Mosul the youthful English traveller A. H. Layard[4] then on his way home from a journey to Ceylon, which had turned into a protracted stay in Iran with the brave Bakhtiyari tribe, then fighting in Khuzistan for their rights against the Shah of Persia. After various adventures, he spent three days at Mosul in 1842 with Botta, then made his way to Constantinople to present himself to Sir Stratford Canning, the powerful British Ambassador, 'the great Elchi' (*Turcicè* ambassador) as he was called in Turkish circles. Further difficulties followed, during which Layard was reduced to acting as a part-time journalist and Constantinople correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Malta Times*, and making himself useful in various ways at the Embassy.

In early 1842, Botta's attention was drawn to the ancient remains at Khorsabad 14 miles north of Mosul.[5] Here he soon found an Assyrian palace which he believed to be the elusive Nineveh.

[4] On Layard's whole career, see WATERFIELD, *L.N.* (London 1963); and NORA KUBIE, *Road to Nineveh* (New York 1964; London 1965) for a good account of his early archaeological discoveries, derived from his own published accounts.

[5] See J. MOHL, *Lettres de M. Botta sur ses découvertes à Khorsabad* (Paris 1845).

His great publication with drawings by Flandin was in fact entitled 'Monument de Ninive'. 'It was Botta's success', as has been well said,[1] 'of which Layard speaks with all the generous appreciation of an equal master-craftsman, which turned the scale in the Englishman's favour. Hitherto, none in England had cared to risk large sums in an attempt to explore unknown mounds so far distant. The Assyrians had always been held up to execration; not only were they stigmatized by classical writers as effete, debauched and incapable Orientals, but also were reckoned in the curious assessment of the time, as a 'wicked' people of vaguely infidel views. Botta's discoveries, while throwing a new light on the jingo sneers of classic authors . . . had the opportune result of stimulating on religious (if ephemeral) grounds, an interest in this people mentioned in the Old Testament.' Layard, seeing Flandin's drawings on their way through Constantinople in 1844, felt doubts. He himself preferred the mound of Nimrud as a more likely candidate. He was now an unofficial attaché at the Embassy and in 1845 he proposed to Sir Stratford Canning that he should undertake a small excavation there for which the Ambassador offered the loan of £60 to add to Layard's small savings. It was their hope that, if successful, the excavations, or at least their products, would be taken over and financed mostly by the British Museum or by the Treasury. In late October he arrived at Nimrud which he in his turn believed sincerely to be Nineveh and began the now famous excavations, immortalized in his book, soon to become a best seller of its day, *Nineveh and its Remains*.[2] It was not till 1846 that Layard received news of a vizirial letter from the Sultan, in which the Sultan made a gift to Sir Stratford Canning of any antiquities Layard might find. The history of the excavations of Kuyunjik, spread over 130 years, which follows, is briefly summarized from published sources wherever such exist; where no publication exists, the gaps were sometimes filled from unpublished records in the British Museum. These are quoted more fully. After long delays, during which he feared to be forestalled by the French, while already digging in the North-West Palace of Nimrud, he at last received, on June 1st 1846, the vizirial letter of authority; he showed it to the Pasha at Mosul, and set to work at the immense site of Kuyunjik, to which M. Guillois, the French Consul, was also laying claims. Layard dismissed them as baseless, for Botta had only dug there for a few days. But he added acidly, 'If M. Guillois continues his trenches where he has begun them, I have not much to fear', for M. Guillois was accustomed to dig shallow pits, ineffectual in such a site as this, and when the Pasha offered to stop Guillois, Layard told him there was plenty of room for both.[3] He noted with prescience 'The mound is usually believed to mark the site of Nineveh'. Remains near the southern face of the mound he assigned to 'the period of Khorsabad', i.e. late 8th century B.C. Then, the heat at Nimrud becoming insupportable, he withdrew to Mosul, whence from a retreat in one of the town's cellars he could supervise resumption of work at Kuyunjik. Then followed an interlude. He started working on a clue derived from the experience of C. J. Rich, who had reported in his *Narrative* the finding of a large bas-relief to the north of the mound. With the aid of an aged stone-cutter, who claimed to have broken it up, he opened a trench in 'a high mound in the northern line of ruins[4] enclosing Nebbi Yunus and Kouyunjik'. It was an entrance, formed by two gigantic winged figures, most of which had been destroyed since Rich's time by the stonecutter himself. This site, soon recognized by Layard himself as the inner face of a monumental gateway in the circuit wall of Nineveh, was that now identified as the Gate of Nergal,[5] a site to which return was later made.[6] It was now all but time to wind up the excavations, the funds being exhausted, but before doing so, Layard tried his hand once more at the site of the previous year in the South-West corner of the main mound. As his luck would have it, in late October on returning to Mosul from visiting the Yezidis in the Sinjar hills, he learnt with relief that Canning had succeeded in persuading the Treasury to finance the excavations through the Trustees of the British Museum, to whom Sir Stratford Canning had made over his sculptures and his rights. We shall, however, not stop here to describe the great finds which followed at Nimrud, but pass on to what is more relevant here—Layard's renewed activity at Kuyunjik.

His first attempts were made at the end of March for he wrote to Canning on 4th April 1847 from Nimrud[7] 'I have been employing during the last fortnight a party of workmen in excavating the large mound opposite Mosul called Kuyunjik. I have discovered the remains of a building with many fragments of sculptures and inscriptions. It is possible that as the workmen advance into the interior of the mound, more perfect remains will be discovered. I have, I think, already mentioned that I believe these ruins to be those of a building of much more recent epoch than Nimroud, built by the son of the founder of Khorsabad. However, specimens of sculpture and inscriptions from the remains which are almost universally believed to mark the true site of Nineveh would be highly interesting.' As Budge makes clear,[8] the tradition that Kuyunjik concealed the city of Nineveh was never wholly forgotten and was preserved by mediaeval writers or travellers in the East into later centuries.[9] But two days later Layard writes from Mosul to Canning, 'After writing my letter of the 4th, I was informed that my workmen excavating in the Kouyunjik [mound] had discovered the entrance to a building. I immediately rode up to Mosul and was much gratified in finding that walls had been uncovered upon which there were sculptures and inscriptions. Those hitherto found are in a very dilapidated state, but there is every reason to hope that as the excavations are carried further into the mound others will be found in better preservation. The sculptures appear to differ from anything I have yet seen in the country. Two very large slabs are entirely occupied by minute figures, warriors, horses, &c. &c., with a castle situated on a hill. The slab is not divided into two compartments, as is usually the case, by an inscription, but a small inscription probably recording the event and name of the place represented occurs in the centre of the slab. The wall is continued in several directions and there are remains of colossal figures, some with the feet of birds,[10] and of small sculptures representing horses, chariots, &c, &c. Too little has yet been uncovered to form any idea of the nature and size of the building. I hope by next post to be able to write to you more fully on the subject. I shall push the work on as well as the means at my disposal will permit.'

In a further letter to Canning[11] he mentions that the bulls of the entrance were 16½ ft long and must have been when complete about 16 ft high. 'By this time he has uncovered four chambers, but the sculptures and inscriptions are very dilapidated; about ten or twelve reliefs had been discovered of which drawings can be made. . . . The subjects are highly interesting and every inch of the slabs is covered with sculpture executed with great minuteness and delicacy . . . the subject of the bas reliefs are principally sieges and battles. Above each city represented was its name in cuneiform characters, but infortunately I have not yet been able to obtain [any] of these inscriptions entire.' He had struck the grand entrance of the palace of 'the son of the Khorsabad king,' i.e., Sennacherib, but found it to have been heavily destroyed by fire. By 14th June on closing down he was able to report to the Trustees[12] that he had uncovered eight rooms of a palace 'each of which had separate sculptures representing the conquest of a different country'; however, only a few of the inscriptions were fit to copy. At first markedly unenthusiastic 'as very little is fit for removal', he judged its importance better when writing his book, and described it as 'a palace of great extent and magnificence'.[13]

On Layard's departure in 1848 the Trustees requested his friend, H. J. Ross, a British merchant of Mosul, long interested in the antiquities, to carry on some excavations on their behalf at Kuyunjik. He continued Layard's work along the wall of Room H, finding remains on a small scale[14] of a burnt building containing inscriptions and of more bas-reliefs, but much damaged by the fire. But on the 'opposite side of the mound',[15] a vague description later defined by Layard as meaning the south side of the mound, he found also a 'chamber formed by slabs divided in the centre, as at Khorsabad and Nimrud, by bands of inscriptions, and having bas-reliefs in two compartments'. They showed

[1] THOMPSON, *C.E.N.*, pp. 25–6.
[2] London 1849, 2 vols. (hereafter referred to as *N.&R.*). The biographical studies, however, mentioned under p. 3 note (4) usefully summarize the events of Layard's first discoveries.
[3] LAYARD—*N.&R.* I, p. 131; LAYARD to CANNING, Mosul, 1st June 1846. *T.P.* vol. XXXV.
[4] *N.&R.* I, p. 144.
[5] See J. P. G. FINCH, 'The Winged Bulls at the Nergal Gate of Nineveh', *Iraq* X, 1948, who shows that a tissue of misunderstanding and mistakes has arisen over these sculptures of this gate, from Thompson's uncritical copying of a statement by Budge.
[6] In 1967. See below p. 27.
[7] Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities MS. copy.
[8] *B.N.T.* II, pp. 8–10.
[9] Layard knew, but found reasons to doubt these traditions (*N.&R.* II, p. 242).
[10] *Sic.* But as this manuscript contains only copies of these letters of Layard, it is possible that the copy clerk has misread 'birds' for 'bulls'.
[11] MOSUL, 3rd May 1847. *L.P.*
[12] LAYARD to Trustees, Mosul, 14th June 1847. *T.P.* vol. XXXVII.
[13] *N.&R.* II, pp. 114–42 gives full details of Rooms A to J—see plan facing p. 124.
[14] LAYARD, *N.&R.* II, 139.
[15] *Ibid.*, 140–1; later defined more precisely in *N.&B.* p. 67.

the 'return of an army in triumph with chariots, led horses and captives, marching along the bank of a river upon which are groves of date trees in fruit. The river is full of fish, tortoises and crabs. Beyond it is a city (also on the banks of a river), out of the gates of which are proceeding men and women on foot, in carts drawn of oxen, and on mules, some bearing presents to the conquerors. In the procession are carried two circular models of towns' (probably representing places captured by the king).

From Layard's later account, we learn that this was Room I. Below this palace area was found a round-topped stele representing a king and divine symbols. This, fortunately, could be recognized as a stele of Sennacherib now in the British Museum (BM. 124800)[1] which later finds showed to be one of several that stood to mark the course of Sennacherib's royal road.

As Gadd has pointed out,[2] the discovery of Kuyunjik just before Layard's departure was something of an embarrassment to him, as he had insufficient funds to dig it, yet feared to leave it to be exploited by M. Guillois, the French Consul who still retained his claims on the mound. To this great building, however, Layard was able to return in the course of his second expedition. Reaching it first on 14th November 1849, apparently with the artist Cooper, he recorded in his diary: 'Ride to Kouyunjik—large figure strangling lion discovered. Unfortunately, the upper part extremely destroyed.' This was the start of the uncovering of the Grand Entrance[3] and of the more or less systematic excavation of the palace which lasted through till the autumn of the following year, withstanding competition from at least seven other sites where Layard had made soundings, except Nimrud. By March 1850, he had opened up eighteen rooms,[4] and by the following July he was able to despatch a raft with 70 or 80 small cases of sculpture, and in October, another laden with no less than 100 cases of sculpture from Kuyunjik, while another 70 or 80 were to follow. The last was attacked by Arabs on the way, and in a pitched battle the attackers were repulsed by the guards, losing 25 dead. The details of these excavations are narrated by Layard himself, and were supplemented by Dr. Gadd's investigations.[5]

By the end of November, the four sides of the great hall marked VI on Layard's plan had been cleared; it formed a magnificent courtyard measuring 124 × 90 ft. In the centre of each was a grand entrance guarded by colossal human-headed bulls, flanked on each side by a winged giant, and two smaller figures, one above the other.

To the south-west of this court, and reached by a narrow vestibule, was a long chamber (No. XLIX on Layard's plan) 218 × 25 ft, wherein Sennacherib had lined the walls with the sculptured story of his adornment of Nineveh and the building of his palace. '. . . On the great bulls were long cuneiform inscriptions and Layard's copy of them, when deciphered in 1851 by Rawlinson and Hincks, the two great *savants* at that time of Assyrian cuneiform, proved to be annals of 6 years of the reign of Sennacherib. It is rare that literary science is able to go thus hand in hand with the open-air energy of the digger.'[6]

We may conclude this account with Layard's own final summing-up of his achievement: 'In this magnificient edifice I had opened no less than seventy-one halls, chambers and passages, whose walls almost without exception, had been panelled with slabs of sculptured alabaster recording the wars, triumphs, and the great deeds of the Assyrian king. By a rough calculation, about 9,880 ft, or nearly 2 miles of bas-reliefs with twenty-seven portals, formed by colossal winged bulls and lion-sphinxes were uncovered in that part alone of the building explored during my researches. The greatest length of the excavation was about 720 ft, the greatest breadth about 600 ft. The pavement of the chambers was from 20 to 35 ft below the surface of the mound.'[7]

THE PALACE OF SENNACHERIB AND HIS WARS

With most of those sculptures found by Layard we are not here concerned,[8] since the true subject of our present study is the monuments of Ashurbanipal. But those sculptures are not confined, as it happens, to his North Palace. An important part of his *œuvre* is also to be found in the residence of his grandfather Sennacherib for whom he appears to have cherished a particular affection. The 'Rassam Cylinder'—a cuneiform text found by that excavator at the site of Kuyunjik in the North Palace, contains a version of Ashurbanipal's annals, written between 644 and 636 B.C., and concludes with a detailed description of how he restored the *bīt redûti* (literally, 'house of succession' or 'place of retirement') of the Crown prince at Nineveh which Sennacherib had built.

At that time, the *bît-ridûti*, the private apartment (*lit.*, place of retiring) of the palace in Nineveh, the noble city, beloved of Ninlil, which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the father of the father, my begetter, had built for his royal abode,—that *bît-ridûti* had become old amidst gladness and rejoicing, its walls had given way. I, Assurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world),—because I had grown up in this *bît ridûti*, and Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, queen of (the divine) decrees, Urta, Nergal (and) Nusku, had guarded my (days of) crownprinceship (therein), had stretched over me their kindly (*lit.*, good) shadow, their shadow of safety; wherein, since (the day) I took my seat upon the throne of the father, who begot me (and) exercised sovereignty over lands and widespread peoples they have brought me message after message (*lit.*, continuous messages) of the glad (news) of the conquest of my foes; (because) on my bed, at night (*lit.*, bed of night), my dreams were favorable, on that of the morning, my thoughts were cheerful; (because) that abode is one that provides safety for its lords, (one) for whom the gods have decreed a favorable fate; (for these reasons) I tore down its ruined (portions). In order to widen its approach I tore it down in its entirety. 50 *tipki* (layers of brick) high, I built a (retaining) wall (*lit.*, structure) on the site where it had stood (*lit.*, site of its structure). I filled in the terrace. But I was fearful in the presence of the sanctuaries of the great gods, my lords, and did not raise the level (*lit.*, structure) of that terrace very much.

In a favorable month, on an auspicious day, I laid its foundations upon that terrace and built its brickwork. In sesame-wine and (grape)-wine, I put down its floor, I laid its mud walls. On Elamite wagons, which I had carried off at the command of the great gods, my lords, the people of my land brought the bricks for the building of that *bît-ridûti*. The kings of Arabia, who had violated the oaths sworn to me, whom I had taken alive in the midst of battle with my (own) hands, I made to carry the basket and headpad, and to do taskwork, for the building of that *bît-ridûti*. Molding its bricks, performing labor upon it, they passed their days to the accompaniment of music. Amidst gladness and rejoicing I completed (it) from its foundation to its top. I made it (*lit.*, its site) wider than it was before. I carried out the work upon a magnificent scale.

Great beams of cedar, the products of Mount Sirara and Lebanon, I used for its roofing (*lit.*, stretched over it). Door-leaves of juniper (*iiaru*), whose odor is pleasant, I bound with a sheathing of copper and set them up in its doorways. Tall columns I inclosed with (sheets) of shining bronze and laid (thereon) the cornices of its portico (*bît-hilâni*). That *bît-ridûti*, my royal dwelling, I completed in every detail, I filled it with splendid (furnishings). A great park of all kinds of fruit trees of . . . I planted at its sides. I completed the task of its construction, I offered splendid sacrifices to the gods, my lords. Amidst gladness and rejoicing I dedicated it. I entered into it under (*lit.*, in) a gorgeous canopy.

In days to come, may the one among the kings, my sons, whom Assur and Ishtar shall call to rule land and people, when that *bît-ridûti* shall become old and fall into ruins, restore its ruins. Let him look upon (*or, perhaps*, look for) the memorial with the inscription of my name, (that of) my father (and) my father's father—an endless line of royalty, let him anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices, and set it up alongside the memorial inscribed with his name. And the great gods, all whose (names) are written upon this memorial, will surely grant him, as they did me, power and might.[9]

This *bīt redûti* is elsewhere called by the king 'the place of decision and counsel',[10] and must therefore have been a royal suite of rooms, with private audience chambers on the ground floor and women's apartments above, which the king Ashurbanipal had inherited and occupied when he

[1] GADD, *S.A.*, p. 170; PATERSON, *P.S.* 4.
[2] GADD, *S.A.*, p. 41.
[3] *N.&B.*, p. 137.
[4] LAYARD to Trustees, Mosul, 18/3/50. *T.P.* vol. XLII.
[5] *N.&B.*, GADD, *S.A.*, pp. 40–72. In this sketch I have inevitably drawn very heavily on his invaluable account.
[6] THOMPSON, *C.E.N.*, p. 38.
[7] LAYARD, *N.&B*, p. 589.
[8] It is hoped in due course to publish them in full, as a companion volume to the present work, and to replace Paterson's fundamental study (*The Palace of Sinacherib*, The Hague, no date; afterwards here referred to as *P.S.* [1915]) by the addition of much unpublished material.
[9] LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.*, II, §§ 835–8.
[10] *Ibid.*, § 987. It has also been suggested (e.g. MEISSNER, *Orientalia* I (1942), p. 258), that this text about the *bît redûti* may refer to the North Palace. Both the Rassam Cylinder and its duplicate, K 8537, came from this site (*III R* p. 7 and *V R* p. I), the former text probably being that referred to by Rassam in his article in *T.S.B.A.* 7 (1882), p. 57, and, as marked on his accompanying plan, discovered embedded in the North West wall of Room N. However, no archaeological evidence has yet been discovered that this (North) Palace was originally built by Sennacherib, whereas it is known that his South-West Palace at Kuyunjik was to a certain extent later restored and refurbished by Ashurbanipal. On the other hand, Sennacherib always calls the latter palace *ekal šānina la išû* 'The Palace Without Rival' and it is nowhere referred to as *bīt redûti*. Again, if it were the case that the North Palace was an earlier structure which Ashurbanipal rebuilt, this could possibly account for certain irregularities that are to be observed in its plan. Furthermore, it is to be noted that in the Rassam Cylinder, Ashurbanipal records of the *bīt redûti* that in deference to the adjoining shrines he only raised its building platform to a height of fifty brick-courses (11. 76–80). The temple area of Kuyunjik in fact lay between the North and South-West Palaces, and thus such a restriction in the height of the building platform, in deference to that of the shrines, could apply to either building. However, an unusual feature of the North Palace is the recessed West corner of the outer wall, and it is noticeable that it is adjacent to the Nabu Temple. It is possible, therefore, that as well as restricting the height of his palace, Ashurbanipal also curtailed its extent in at least this one respect, so as not to encroach upon and dwarf this sanctuary.

first ascended the throne. Evidence suggests that this refers to the *bīt redûti* which Sennacherib built, not to part of that building, known to us as the South-West Palace of Sennacherib, though it was certainly used by Ashurbanipal.[1] Layard himself explored in particular two rooms (LX and LXI)[2] which with the adjacent Room XXXIII formed a façade to the South-East Palace; these rooms (LX and LXI) turned out to be full of tablets.[3] They were broken, it is true, but filled the floor to a height of a foot or more. Here, in subterranean passages which were dug along the face of the sculptures after the fashion of those days when the digger worked his way mole-like underground, lay much of the famous Kuyunjik Library; records, decrees, lists of gods, grammatical lists, sacred days, as Layard describes them. 'A large collection', says he, 'is already deposited in the British Museum. . . . But years must elapse before the innumerable fragments can be put together.' Kuyunjik in the future was to become inseparably associated with tablets. Layard had struck the first part of the archives of Ashurbanipal. Meanwhile, in August 1850, while Layard was enjoying the cooler air of Van, his workmen opened the adjoining Room XXXIII and discovered the magnificent scenes depicting Ashurbanipal's 'crowning mercy', the bloody defeat of Te-umman and the Elamites' surrender at the battle of the Ulai River in 653 B.C.[4] There seems little reason, therefore, to doubt that they formed part of the *bīt redûti* which he claims to have restored and embellished, where he ascended the throne and executed the Babylonian rebels to avenge the shade of his murdered grandfather.[5] But to understand the events depicted in the sculptures it is necessary to go back a little way over the history of Ashurbanipal and his predecessors.

* * *

The civilization of Elam in the Iranian hills to the immediate east of Babylonia was hardly less ancient or less brilliant than that of Babylon, and can be traced back to beginnings contemporary with those of earliest Sumer in the fourth millennium; between them there were both give-and-take in culture and age-long struggles and rivalries for supremacy. When, however, the Assyrians emerged at the beginning of the Iron Age as the great power of Mesopotamia, the position changed. Tempted, no doubt, by the riches of North Syria and the control of the trade route to the west across the Euphrates, the Assyrians advanced their frontiers north-westwards into Syria, then found themselves locked in a bitter struggle with their immediate neighbours to the north, the Urartians, a cultured and able people whose home was the natural fortress formed by the ring of mountains surrounding the plain and lake of Van. During the 8th century B.C., when Assyria, relatively weak, was falling back under the Urartians' blows, we find the two powers involved in a protracted attempt to control the two buffer states of Ḫubushkia and Mannai, whose importance lay in the fact that the main road, and hence the trade route for caravans between Urartu and the Iranian plateau and ultimately Elam, ran north-west on a narrow corridor between the mountains lining the Eastern Assyrian frontier on the one hand, and the lake of Urmia on the other and onwards through the Aras Valley into Transcaucasia and Asia Minor. Babylonian traders could also use this road to bypass the exactions of Assyria. In 728 B.C., Tiglath-pileser annexed Babylon, while Sargon finally defeated Urartu in 715 B.C. It seems to have become an axiom of politics that Elam and Babylon should stand or fall together against Assyria. Within the first years of the 7th century B.C., we find the Elamites, partly animated by considerations of trade, openly making common cause with Babylon against Assyria—provoking a phase of fresh conflict which ended in 689 B.C. with the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib. Ten years later, however, Esarhaddon allowed it to be rebuilt.

THE ACCESSION OF ASHURBANIPAL

When Ashurbanipal came to the throne in 668 B.C., Assyria seemed at the height of its greatness. Urartu was humbled, even Egypt, after the despatch of a punitive expedition (667 B.C.), had submitted, and from the far north-east, the newly arisen power of Lydia, under Gyges, courted Assyria's friendship. Babylon was now ruled by Shamash-shum-ukin, Ashurbanipal's own brother. But again the trouble-spot, giving rise to a new series of wars, was Mannai, which Ashurbanipal invaded and annexed. Scholars now date this event for unclear reasons to about 660/659 B.C. Urtaku, king of Elam, until then the friend and ally of Assyria, rashly made an unsuccessful raid on Assyrian-controlled territory in Babylonia, with the aid of the Chaldaeans. He was repulsed and thereupon assassinated by Te-umman, his brother[6] who crowned himself King of Elam in his place, while the children of Urtaku fled and threw themselves on Ashurbanipal's mercy.[7] Ashurbanipal evidently had cause both to hate and fear Te-umman, 'the image of a devil';[8] and in a hard-fought battle, in 653 B.C.[9] at Tulliz (Til Tuba) on the Ulai River (modern Karun) covering Susa, he met and crushingly defeated Te-umman, who, with his son, was slain. The Assyrian king proclaimed Ummanigash, a son of Urtaku, as king of Elam, though he does not appear to have entered the royal cities of Susa and Madaktu on this occasion. Te-umman's head, cut off by a common soldier, was carried back by Ashurbanipal in triumph to Nineveh, where it was hung on the city gate. There Ashurbanipal joyfully celebrated the New Year's festival. Then, still taking the grisly trophy with him, Ashurbanipal took the road to Arbela to make further thanksgiving.[10] Rusa, king of Urartu, fearing to be isolated by the collapse of the great trade route, sent an embassy of congratulation. The battle of the Ulai and other events of this campaign are duly depicted in the South-West Palace of Sennacherib in Room XXXIII, which Ashurbanipal either built or restored, and in several rooms of Ashurbanipal's own North Palace[11] (pls. XXIII–XXIV below). Then, in 652, Shamash-shum-ukin, following the classic policy of linking Babylon with Elam, sought to redress Elam's defeat by organizing a vast conspiracy against his brother on a wide front, extending from Elam through the Arabs of the Syrian desert to Palestine and Egypt. He may well have aimed not merely at dethroning his brother, but also at becoming himself ruler of both Babylonia and Assyria, with Babylon instead of Nineveh as the joint capital. But Ashurbanipal fought back fiercely. The Babylonian and Elamite armies were separately routed. Babylon was besieged and reduced by famine (648 B.C.) while Shamash-shum-ukin threw himself in despair into its flames—a fate which a confused Greek legend subsequently ascribed to Ashurbanipal under the name of Sardanapalus. It was now the turn of the Arabs (653–652 B.C.). Uaite', son of Hazailu, was paramount sheikh of the Sumu-ilu (the Assyrian equivalent of Ishmael), and the Western Arabian tribe of Kedar,[12] whose tents and grazing flocks were familiar to the Hebrew prophets. He was pursued, or retreated, through Edom, the Hauran and Moab, and was finally driven into banishment or refuge with the tribe of Nabaite.[13] Some of the tribesmen of Kedar under Ammuladi attempted a diversion by means of a *razzia* against certain cities of

[1] See above, p. 5.

[2] Not XL and XLI as Thompson says, *C.E.N.*, pp. 36–7.

[3] Layard's diary (*L.P.*, vol. CLXVI. Add. MS. 39096) states under 11th May and following days: 'Ride to Kouyunjik with Rollands—many interesting discoveries in the long descending passage—the chamber with wars in country of palm trees, and a large collection of tablets'. 13th May—'. . . more inscribed tablets from Kouyunjik. 14th—'more inscribed tablets from Kouyunjik; we appear to have got into a room almost filled with them'.

[4] On these and other sculptures in the South-West Palace of Sennacherib, see below, p. 7.

[5] LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.*, I § 295. This identification is not completely certain. See also now the study by NAGEL, *N.R.S.A.* (Berlin 1967), which assigns many more reliefs in the South-West Palace to Ashurbanipal on stylistic grounds. MEISSNER & OPITZ, however, see in the *bīt redûti* the *ḫilāni* containing chambers and the upper chambers of the North Palace. But the chief objection to this is that there is not a trace there of any Palace of Sennacherib.

[6] Te-umman was brother of Urtaku, according to STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* p. 109; LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 857; STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* p. 213; LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 934. (Cf. LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 1117.)

The Urtaku who was son-in-law of Te-umman is evidently *not* the same person as King Urtaku as he was alive at the Battle of the R. Ulai (LUCKENBILL, *ibid* § 1031) when King U. was already 1 year dead!

An account of the historical events of Ashurbanipal's reign is made difficult by the inconsistencies of his own records, of which there are several editions. Later editions suppress items in early versions, reduce the number of campaigns, telescope the sequence of events or represent them as following each other, when they were in fact concurrent. The best synoptic study is PIEPKORN, *The Historical Prisms of Assurbanipal* (Chicago, 1935). Cylinder B, the earliest complete account of the revolt and death of Urtaku, presents those events as a part of Ashurbanipal's sixth campaign, after two campaigns against Egypt, the (3rd) campaign against Tyre, the (4th) campaign against Kirbit, and the (5th) campaign against the Mannaeans. It is however certain from the text Rm 281 (BAUER, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, pp. 56–7 and pls. 53–4; LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 944) and from the Chronicle text BM 96273 (see below, n. 7) that Urtaku's revolt took place while Ashurbanipal was away on his first campaign in Egypt (667 B.C.), and that his death and the consequent flight of his family to Assyria took place in 664 B.C. before the second Egyptian campaign and the destruction of Thebes (663 B.C.) and before the campaign against the Mannaeans (c. 660 B.C.). [C.B.F.W.]

[7] This event is dated by the Babylonian chronicle text BM 96273 (A. R. MILLARD, *Iraq* XXVI (1963), pp. 14–35) to the 12th of the month Tammuz, in the 4th year of Shamash-shum-ukin, i.e. June–July 664 B.C. [C.B.F.W.]

[8] LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 857.

[9] This dating is based on the evidence of the lunar eclipse which preceded the Elamite campaign against Te-umman, which MAYR, in an appendix to PIEPKORN, (pp. 105–9), dates to 13th July 653 B.C. [C.B.F.W.]

[10] LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, §§ 1043, 1045, 1071.

[11] The subjects of several further sculptures depicting scenes from this campaign are given in the texts of captions, copies which have survived on clay tablets. (See LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, §§ 1027–1117 = STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* pp. 321–43.)

[12] LUCKENBILL *A.R.A.B.* II, § 824.

[13] Possibly Hebrew: Nebaioth. Nebaioth is the first-born son of Ishmael, brother of Kedar, Genesis xxv. 13. See Isaiah xxi. 16; xlii. 11, lx. 7; Jeremiah xlix. 29. The identification of Nebaioth and Nabaite with Nabataeans is unlikely.

Syria. They were crushed, and the family of Te'ri, Abiate' and Aimu, who had moved into Babylonia in support of Shamash-shum-ukin, were captured. Natnu, the Nabataean king, prudently submitted and surrendered Uaite' who, like others of the sheikhs, was imprisoned at Nineveh in a dog-kennel. Scenes from this campaign against the Arabs or the renewed war of 644/3 B.C. again form part of the decoration of the North Palace.

In Elam, in response to the defeat, a fresh palace revolt broke out; Ummanigash was murdered by his second brother Tammaritu, who seized the throne (651 B.C.). Shortly afterwards, he too fell a victim to civil war and was driven out, and became a prisoner of Ashurbanipal. In Elam, racked with internal strife, a series of ephemeral kings, who are little more than names, succeeded each other—Indabigash, Umbahabua, Pa'e, Ummanaldas (sometimes called Ummanaldasi), the last coming to the throne in 648. Then Ashurbanipal began to concern himself lest some remnant of Babylonian loyalties should revive around the person of Nabu-bēl-shumāte, king of the Sea-land (Bīt Yakin), son of Merodach-baladan, who had also been a thorn in the Assyrians' side. Bīt Yakin, on the coast of Babylonia, was annexed, and its king fled to Elam. When Ashurbanipal demanded his extradition, Nabu-bēl-shumāte committed suicide. However, to make all sure, in c. 646 B.C., Ashurbanipal in his eighth campaign (according to the Rassam cylinder), ejected Ummanaldas and received the surrender of several Elamite cities, including, particularly, Hamanu, Rashi, Bīt Imbi, Dur-Untash on the river Idide ('a raging torrent' which his troops hesitated to cross), and Din-sharri. The scene of its surrender and that of Hamanu are described below. Of the cities mentioned by Ashurbanipal, only one, Dur-Untash, can be identified. It is the site of Choga Zembil, on the river Ab-i-Diz, near Susa. Din-sharri has been tentatively placed near Susa.[1] On the return march, he entered Susa, the capital, sacked its untold accumulated riches, and carried off its gods, putting thereby the end to a great civilization as old as that of Babylon.

Ummanaldas of Elam, after fleeing to the city Murubisu[2] also fell into Ashurbanipal's clutches (640/639 B.C.), and with the other Elamite royal prisoners, Tammaritu, Pa'e and the luckless Uaite', was forced to draw his conqueror's triumphal car in procession to the temple of Nin-lil at Nineveh, where Ashurbanipal once more celebrated the *akītu* or New Year festival at an *al fresco* banquet served by the Elamite kings[3] with the gory visage of the hated and long-dead Te-umman hung before him.

In his account of the rebuilding of the *bīt redûti* of his grandfather Sennacherib, Ashurbanipal describes how he further rubbed salt in the wounds of his prisoners, the kings of Arabia, by forcing them to work as builders on the palace; Elamite wagons were used, but no Elamite princes were pressed into the work, perhaps because they were already executed. At this point, Sarduri,[4] the new king of Urartu, successor of Rusa, seeing his country now utterly isolated, thought it prudent to repeat the congratulations of his predecessor. The Assyrian victor little knew that his destruction of Babylon and Elam had but hastened his own, since he had overthrown the only force that checked the newly-emerging power of the Medes from dominating the Iranian plateau, and had weakened Urartu which was alone holding back the Scyths. These formidable enemies eventually banded together, succeeded in 615–612 in finally destroying Assyria, and reduced the sculptured palaces of Nineveh (except for some sparse settlement in later times) to the silent ruins which Layard, Rassam and Loftus found after more than two thousand years.

* * *

As we have said, the six surviving slabs from Room XXXIII inserted by Ashurbanipal in his grandfather Sennacherib's palace represent the battle of Til Tuba on the Ulai, or Eulaeus, River. They were placed three and three on either side of the doorway, formed by a pair of winged lions, leading into the room from Room XXX. They were graven *in situ* on slabs built there by Sennacherib, for they bore his name on the back. Those on the left (1–3) depicted the battle itself in full fury, and for mastery of detail combined with an impression of the real confusion of a mêlée of battle, can be approached only by the great Egyptian scenes of Rameses II's battle at Kadesh against the Hittites. By no means all the picture is preserved. Some fragments of horsemen from the ground line show it extended further back on to slabs now lost, beyond No. 1. At the left edge of the same scene appears part of a hill—(doubtless that of Til Tuba) which probably formed the centre point of Te-umann's defence. From it Elamite princes and soldiers on foot or in their light cars are tumbling helter-skelter in panic towards the river, under the blows of the Assyrian spearmen, the Elamite flank having been turned by the Assyrian cavalry. Men and horses rush into the river to drown. Above, soldiers are clubbing prisoners to death, while others are decapitated in a tent.[5] To reduce the wild scene of horror to comprehensibility, the artist has adopted a principle from now on often used, breaking the scene into horizontal bands. In the topmost band, we see the unarmed Chaldaean prisoners, men, women and children, driven past, lamenting like the chorus in a Greek tragedy. A small inscription tells us that Urtaku, wounded, is begging an Assyrian soldier to end his life.[6] Another caption beside the river shows Te-umman and his son, Tammaritu, caught hiding in a copse and slain.[7] Another inscription[8] shows that an Elamite chariot at the left is charged to carry swiftly the head of Te-umman to Nineveh.

The three great slabs from the right-hand side show the return of calm after the storm, the meting out of punishment and restoration of Assyrian law and order. The scene is spread over at least eight horizontal bands but the upper four are separated from the lower four by a fillet indicating a difference of place. Above, the king is receiving his officers at a victory parade amid the pine-trees of Arbela,[9] and, as we learn from the epigraph, receives the ambassadors of Rusa, king of Urartu, and confronts them with an incriminating correspondence from certain Elamite princes in the presence of the latter. A quarrel follows. Two prisoners, probably Mannu-ki-aḫi and Nabu-usalli, chiefs of the Babylonian tribe of Gambulu, who had blasphemed against the god Ashur, have their tongues torn out.[10] Below, we see the Elamite army surrendering and doing homage to Ashurbanipal before the Elamite city of Madaktu, while the Assyrian general leads the ex-fugitive Elamite prince Ummanigash to ascend the throne in Madaktu and Susa, to the music of an Elamite orchestra and choir.[11]

THE INTERREGNUM IN THE EXCAVATIONS

On 28th April, 1851, Layard finally quitted Mosul and gave up the cares and excitement of excavation for those of public affairs. He left in charge at Kuyunjik the inexperienced and ill-fated young artist Mr. Bell. On 13th May, Bell was drowned. There followed in the conduct of the excavations an interregnum which there appeared to be only two persons capable of filling. These were William Kennett Loftus and Hormuzd Rassam. How inadequately the accounts of the excavations which then took place were published and described may be judged if we compare them with those of Layard dealing with his own finds. The young Hormuzd Rassam was the nephew of Christian Rassam, the British Vice-Consul at Mosul, and had proved a valued friend, disciple and lieutenant to Layard during his excavations. In return, Layard assisted him to come to England to further his education at Oxford, where he was at this time. As we shall shortly see, after Layard's retirement, Hormuzd Rassam[12] resumed, on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum, the work on that site. But although Rassam, following the example of his master, kept some journals of his excavations, he produced no proper publication of his finds, nor apparently did the Trustees then consider it essential that such publication should be made, though they were willing to supply a competent draughtsman to work with him and record his finds in sculpture with the pencil. Utilizing these journals,[13] Rassam eventually, in his old age, published an account

[1] Din-sharri, or Dinsar, is tentatively identified with Tepe Sindjar, 15 km from Susa (R. MECQUENEM, *Recherches à Tchoga Zembil* (Mem. Miss. Arch. Iran, XXXIII). For scenes of its capture see pl. LXVII.

[2] This is evidently the same as the city known to Sargon as Marubishta in Ellipi (LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B*, II, §§ 47, 65, 237, 279, 306).

[3] LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, §§ 833, 1071. GADD, *S.A.* p. 180.

[4] LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 834.

[5] The epigraph STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* p. 325; LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 1050, evidently describes this.

[6] STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* p. 315, δ; LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 1031.

[7] STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* p. 313, β; LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 1029.

[8] STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* p. 313, γ; LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 1030.

[9] STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* p. 317, θ; LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 1071.

[10] cf. STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* p. 331; LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 1046

[11] cf. STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* p. 315, 3; LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 1059. Hardly the prince leading the general, as translated by both these authorities.

[12] For a sketch of his career, see his biography (by T. G. Pinches) in *D.N.B.*; also my *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, pp. 20–1.

[13] A letter, RASSAM to LAYARD (*L.P.* vol. LII Add. MS. 38982) from Aden, 10th October 1855, says: 'I have packed all my rough journals and the book which contains all my correspondence with Colonel Rawlinson—I send them all as they are and you may do anything you like with them.' Layard must have returned them to Rassam when the latter required them in the preparation of his book (see p. 8, n. 1) for they are not among the copious Layard Papers, preserved today in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum.

of his discoveries in book form,[1] partly stung into doing so by the realization that his silence in the past had resulted in his claims as a discoverer being forgotten, doubted or disputed. It proved possible, however, usefully to supplement his account of his work in part by following its progress in contemporary reports and letters, as was shown by Dr. C. J. Gadd, who, in his monumental book *The Stones of Assyria* published in 1936 a sketch of these early excavations which may be truly said to have superseded in amplitude and accuracy anything previously written on the subject. Today we can fill out the narrative slightly more fully with the aid of some additional documents,[2] as far as the work at Kuyunjik is concerned, and it is thus profitable to retrace it as a whole.

* * *

William Kennett Loftus,[3] a geologist, was sent out, as Gadd has described,[4] to join the Turco-Persian Frontier Commission directed by Colonel Williams in 1850 and when, in April 1851, Layard left Mesopotamia, Colonel Rawlinson, the British Consul in Baghdad, who acted as the Trustees' agent, was instructed to approach Loftus to ask if he was willing to leave the Frontier Commission and take charge of the work of excavation in Assyria. Loftus replied[5] that he would be willing to do so if Layard had finally left the country, and he himself would not be merely a temporary substitute in Layard's absence. Rawlinson had obtained already a grant of £500 for Loftus to excavate at Susa, and with Rawlinson acting as general supervisor on behalf of the Trustees, a further grant of £1,500 for two years was secured for excavations in Assyria.[6]

At the same time, the French Académie began to renew its suspended interest in Assyrian discovery, and in September 1851 caused to be appointed a mission to Mesopotamia, consisting of Msrs. Fresnel, Oppert and Thomas. Further, as the idea was then widespread that archaeology (or as it was then called, 'antiquarian researches') could usefully be pursued from the vantage point of a minor diplomatic post, Victor Place was accordingly sent out as consul to Mosul, the post formerly held by P. E. Botta. Place set off for Mosul, which he reached on 5th December[7] with orders to begin excavating at Kuyunjik,[8] 'even continuing the very tunnels and galleries that Layard had begun', that being the method then used, and met Rawlinson at Samsun on the way out in December. Place behaved in the most friendly manner. Rawlinson writes to the Trustees that he is 'happy to find M. Place disposed to act in perfect harmony with us'.[9] The Trustees' decision whether or not to appoint Loftus not having been yet received, anyone sent out by the Trustees, Rawlinson says, ought to be impressed with the necessity of avoiding any misunderstanding with the French. He warns the Trustees Place means to start at Kuyunjik as soon as he obtains a *firman* from the Turkish Government, but he has promised 'that he will keep as far away from our trenches as possible'. It is easy to understand how these two men came, if mistakenly, to imagine that the immense site could be peacefully and satisfactorily partitioned in this way between the two eager sets of claimants. Since Layard left, a few men had been kept at work under the direction of Christian Rassam, Hormuzd's uncle, the British Vice-Consul at Mosul. Rawlinson, sensing danger, urges that it will be wise to increase considerably the number of workmen employed, and, before the French appear, to concentrate on the South-West Palace of Sennacherib, in particular, on the 'Hall of the Bulls' and the outskirts of the Palace 'which seems to be a perfect treasure house of clay tablets'.[10] By this time (December 1851) the Trustees had agreed with the Foreign Office to take on Loftus, under Rawlinson's supervision, and were sending out to join him an artist, young C. D. Hodder,[11] who arrived in Mosul in April. Rawlinson meanwhile sent Loftus off to Susa, with the hope that before the end of the year Loftus 'will have laid the great mound of Susa completely bare!'[12] The excavations at Kuyunjik meanwhile remained under the nominal supervision of Christian Rassam. The results were generally disappointing except for a late tomb, recognizable from the description as Parthian, containing gold ornaments[13] and a fine Assyrian cylinder.

THE DISCOVERIES AROUND THE SOUTH-WEST PALACE: RASSAM'S MISSION

The excavation in the South-West Palace and in the Hall of the Bulls 'on which are inscribed the annals of Sennacherib' having produced nothing more, the work was shifted to the centre of the mound, where a slab was found with an inscription, evidently of Ashurnasirpal[14] commemorating his building of a temple 'to the god answering to the Greek Οὐρανός' (Anu?). Further, six large cases had been filled with clay tablets and fragments of cylinders found in the Palace of Sennacherib, and fresh tablets were daily coming to light. Rawlinson, writing from Kuyunjik[15] now records that all inscriptions distinctly call Kuyunjik 'Nineveh', thereby proving that Nimrud is a different place altogether. (This apparently is the first proof that Kuyunjik was Nineveh.) Nevertheless, Rawlinson was frankly gloomy: 'The cream of the Assyrian milk pan has been skimmed', he writes. 'No more cargoes of bulls and lions, nor even sculptures are wanted, but more historical material.' His chief care is the recovery of more inscriptions. In spite, however, of these outspoken prejudices, Rawlinson had to hail, in March, the finding of sculptures representing—or so he believed—the city and temple of Jerusalem, from 'the chamber adjoining the Hall of the Bulls, where Sennacherib's expedition against Egypt is described'.[16] This is evidently *not* the scene of siege of the city, the end of whose name alone survives as *-alammu*,[17] and which some have wished to restore as the name of Jerusalem; since that scene was found in 1849 in Room XIV, Rawlinson's room cannot at present be identified. But still no word came from the Trustees disclosing their plans for excavation, and Rawlinson became perceptibly uneasy. First he urges that an Englishman, and a person of responsible character—by that he meant to say, neither a Rassam nor a Hodder—should be put in charge. Then he firmly asks[18] whether he is to expect Hormuzd Rassam (then still in England) to be sent out to work under him, or must Loftus be responsible for Assyria as well as Babylonia? And lastly, are any more sculptures, bulls, lions or similar objects required from Kuyunjik? If not, are other parties to be allowed to carry off slabs still remaining which were first excavated by Layard? The answers were at last forthcoming. By June the Trustees had engaged Hormuzd Rassam, though Rawlinson, in view of limited finances and his distrust of Orientals, was not at all keen on the idea, and told them so.[19] He much preferred Loftus, who 'is active, intelligent and thoroughly in earnest, and will do all in his power for not being gifted with ubiquity'. The young Rassam, however, was to show very soon that he possessed these same virtues, at least as in as high a degree as Loftus, adding to them the faculty of luck and energy.

Suggestions were now made[20] that the workmen had found a new palace at Kuyunjik but they were (probably) unfounded—so little came out that Rawlinson hesitated to continue digging there. Under this nerveless control of affairs, little in fact, was happening here. Only one new relief had been found in a 'new spot on the side of the mound facing Mosul'; it showed 'warriors engaged in the capture of some city'.[21]

[1] *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod* (hereafter referred to as *A.L.N.*)—see esp. preface, pp. i–ix.

[2] I have here made much use of, and acknowledge my debt to Dr. Gadd's MS. summaries of archaeological references in *T.P.*

[3] For an account of him and a portrait, see my *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, pp. 21–4 and plate opp. p. 12.

[4] *S.A.* pp. 52–3.

[5] Letter, RAWLINSON to Trustees, 18/7/51. *T.P.* vol. XLVI.

[6] Treasury Minute 3/10/51 *T.P.* vol. XLVI.

[7] See M. PILLET, *L'Expedition scientifique et artistique de Mésopotamie et de Médie* (Paris 1922). See also now, M. PILLET's biography of Place, *Un Pionnier de l'assyriologie: Victor Place*. (Paris 1962: Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, XVI).

[8] RAWLINSON to Trustees (Constantinople) 5/11/51. *T.P.* vol. XLVI.

[9] The same (Samsun) 15/11/51. What follows is largely condensed from Gadd's account.

[10] The same. Mosul, 9/12/51, *T.P.* vol. XLVI.

[11] Foreign Office to Trustees 24/12/51, *T.P.* On 2/7/152 Rawlinson writes to Layard that Loftus has turned the mound of Susa upside down, without finding much (*L.P.* vol. LI).

[12] RAWLINSON to Trustees, Baghdad, 2/2/52. *T.P.* vol. XLVII.

[13] The tomb was one of three, two of which were 'empty'; the third is described as 'of large stones about 8′ × 5″, and as having been that of a young woman. She had two pairs of gold earrings, one of massive gold with stones, one smaller pair without stones (resembling 'those of present day'), two massive gold rings (one set with a ruby of good size with a figure on it, the other plain), a necklace of eighteen gold beads, a number of small gold buttons the size of a spangle belonging to her belt, a gold-leaf mask with impress of a face, a fine cylinder with cuneiform inscription, a pair of gold scales laid across the breast, a beautiful gold coin—according to Rawlinson, an *aureus* of Tiberius (about the weight of a Turkish lira), and two lovely glass bottles (C. A. Rassam to Rawlinson, 22/1/52 and Rawlinson's report to Trustees 21/4/52 in *T.P.*, supplemented by Mrs. Rassam to Layard 14/11/52, *L.P.* vol. L). The collection is now in the British Museum, registered as 56.9.9, 66–125. Hope, as Dr. Gadd writes, at first suggested that the tombs of the Assyrian kings had been found. In fact, Mrs. Christian Rassam, with a somewhat arch Victorian humour, writes to Layard that she is sending him 'as a gift a box containing cylinders, two small gold buttons from the gloves of Semiramis, a gold leaf from the coronet of the daughter of Ninus and Semiramis, and two gold buttons from the gloves of Sennacherib'.

[14] GADD, *S.A.* p. 81.

[15] RAWLINSON to Trustees, 14/3/52. *T.P.* vol. XLVII.

[16] RAWLINSON to Trustees, Nimrud, 30/3/52. *T.P.* vol. XLVII.

[17] SMITH, *A.S.B.M.* pls. LX–LXIV.

[18] RAWLINSON. Report to Trustees, 21/4/52. *T.P.* vol. XLVII.

[19] RAWLINSON to Trustees, Baghdad, 2/7/52. *T.P.* vol. XLVII.

[20] The same, 2/8/52. *T.P.* vol. XLVIII.

[21] HODDER to ELLIS, Mosul, 4/7/52. *T.P.* vol. XLVIII. This is now unidentifiable.

In view of the new arrangements, Rawlinson wrote to Loftus[1] then in Armenia, authorizing him to return to England, but the letter missed him. At Jezirat-ibn Umar, the cross-roads of Northern Iraq, the two excavators, Loftus and Rassam, met on 18th October. After continuing on his way to Baghdad, Loftus, finding that the disturbed state of the country made it impossible to excavate, left for England in November, while Rassam went on to Mosul and reopened soundings at a wide variety of sites, in the indiscriminate, over-ambitious manner of the period, in which most excavators were still evidently unaware of the fact that if the excavator is not personally present at an Oriental excavation, the evidence of antiquity which he may be seeking is almost certain to be pilfered or destroyed.[2]

Rassam on his arrival found that the Turkish authorities in the person of Hilmi Pasha, the Governor of Mosul, had begun some excavations at Nebi Yunus,[3] the mound which lies to the south of Kuyunjik, appropriately by tradition supposed to be the burial place of the prophet Jonah. The Pasha had found an entrance with a pair of colossal man-headed bulls accompanied by a gigantic sculpture of a man with a lion under his arm, originally about 17 ft high; an important inscription of Sennacherib and a 'bronzed lion' [sic] also emerged. A letter of Rawlinson[4] explains this as a lion weight inscribed with the name of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, Conqueror of Egypt and Ethiopia.

In March 1853, Rawlinson visited Kuyunjik and gave Rassam authority to select and pack sculptures to be sent to England. In effect, this meant the reliefs of the siege of Lachish and the 'lion-headed figure with a man before it'[5] and he advised the Trustees[6] that they must now consider whether to apply to the Treasury for a new grant. He would prefer them to continue excavation for the sake of finding historical texts; but warns them 'that there is no chance of our lighting on any new sculptured palaces or temples, and that the proceeds of the excavations will not therefore be such as to secure popular applause. Rassam must now stick to Nimrud and Kuyunjik, as none of the other sites investigated had shown any inducement.[7]

Meanwhile, in England the interest of the cultured public had been thoroughly stirred by Layard's first-hand accounts of his discoveries, written in a mingled serious and light-hearted style which still makes excellent reading; and these works were supplemented by the publications of Fergusson,[8] Vaux,[9] and Bonomi[10] and articles in the *Athenaeum* and the *Illustrated London News*. In the British Museum itself, the great winged bull and lion from Nimrud were already to be seen, 'although the authorities of the British Museum are yet undecided how the Nimrud marbles are to be ultimately arranged'.[11] In March, 1853, the enterprising Crystal Palace Company, having heard that others were receiving sculptures, were already writing to Rawlinson and the Trustees, requesting permission to take unwanted duplicates[12] of sculpture from Nimrud and Kuyunjik, and it was proposed that Rawlinson should select them. Meanwhile at Nimrud, Rassam found fragments of the 'Black Obelisk'.[13] At Kuyunjik he was occupied in packing up and removing the slabs from 'the Sennacherib Chamber', a term apparently describing that ornamented with the siege of Lachish. Only one slab, it was said, could be removed entire, the rest had fallen into pieces.[14] He was also said to be packing 'the lion-headed figure with a man before it'.[15] By May, Rassam is reported to be removing the sculptures, in three registers, showing 'men and animals fully appointed for war, captives, beasts of burden, women and children, bivouac, register of spoil'. This is no doubt Room XXVIII. He removed the 'griffin-headed figure with mace and dagger with his human companion' (BM 118932) and the slab depicting three harp-players (BM 124947). In selecting these, Rawlinson wisely claimed he was actuated by the interest of the subject more than by the state of preservation or beauty of the marbles.[16] 'We are now [he says] rich enough in specimens of mere art, and ought to endeavour to fill up historical lacunae.' Dr. Gadd has pointed out that this method of choice in fact led to some regrettable results.[17] On 4th July, Rassam, continuing the work at the centre of the mound, was rewarded by the discovery of a series of slabs showing archers, spearmen, musicians and officers conducting Sennacherib in a hand-drawn car, apparently to a temple,[18] and by the finding of the 'Broken Obelisk'.[19] This is the top part of a monument with a sculptured relief on one side, describing events of the reign of Tiglath-pileser I, but apparently later in date. During the first week of July, it was followed—also at the centre of the mound, about 200 ft to the north-east of Sennacherib's Palace, by the discovery of the complete 'White Obelisk', now likewise in the British Museum.[20] This important monument of white limestone, though not in the best style of art, is apparently of Ashurnasirpal I and depicts his military campaigns, hunting scenes, the transport of colossal stones, and scenes of sacrifice. As Gadd remarks, it seems likely that these obelisks marked the course of a Sacred Way, leading from the Palace to the Temple of Ishtar, in which seems to have belonged the naked figure of the goddess[21], now headless, dedicated by Ashur-bēl-kala, which Rassam discovered at the same time at the bottom of a 'vast pit', about 25 ft deep containing inscribed tablets and inscribed pottery. This pit was a deep excavation laid open to the sky, a method, Rawlinson explains,[22] they had adopted in contrast with the tunnelled passages by which sculptures were then usually recovered, because the absence of walls to follow now precluded tunnelling. Rassam had apparently struck the site of the Temple of Ishtar, in which this statue apparently once stood. When L. W. King and R. C. Thompson identified the site of the temple in 1903 and 1927 there was hardly a trace of it left.[23]

THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH PALACE

In the gloom of disappointment in which the year 1853 ended, the dawn of the hour of triumph for the excavators was at hand. Kuyunjik seemed to be reduced to a standstill, and other sites had been tried in vain. But in the last week of December, the gangs of workmen found a sculptured wall, the upper parts of which were destroyed, and which turned out to be an ascending passage 'resembling the procession of food bearers'.[24] Only four slabs representing 'eunuchs' were whole, but they showed the lost sculptures to have been 'most magnificent'.[25] After digging along the passage 100 ft from north-west to south-east, the excavators reached a room with sculptures representing hunting scenes. Rassam had discovered the now famous North Palace of Ashurbanipal.

In his book[26] Rassam described, not always with perfect literary felicity but with unblushing frankness and characteristic vigour, how, driven by despondency and disappointment, he determined, as a last throw of the dice, to try his luck in the northern half of the mound, which unfortunately had been assigned by the previously described gentleman's agreement between Monsieur Place and Colonel H. Rawlinson to the French mission under Place, although Place had not taken up his claim.

'But how was I to manage my project without the risk of being found out and stopped by him was the puzzle, as all the workmen knew that that part of Koyunjik was assigned to the French, and there were always spies ready to carry the news to my rival if they saw that I was excavating in his apportioned ground. So I resolved upon an experimental examination of the spot at night, and only waited for a good opportunity and a bright moonlight for my nocturnal adventure.'

'It was on the night of the 20th of December, 1853, that I commenced to examine

[1] RAWLINSON to Trustees, Ctesiphon, 15/10/52. *T.P.* vol. XLVIII.
[2] Rawlinson alone points out (RAWLINSON to Trustees, 30/2/52 *T.P.* vol. XLVII) that 'excavation . . . [is] no good without a European supervisor'.
[3] RASSAM, *A.L.N.* pp. 6–7 and LAYARD, *N.&B.*, pp. 596–8; *N.&B.* 2, Introduction, pp. xx, xxi; GADD, *S.A.* pp. 88–9.
[4] RAWLINSON to Trustees, Baghdad, 5/5/53. *T.P.* vol. XLIX.
[5] BM 118932: from the south-west entrance to Room XXXII (now in the Nineveh Gallery of the BM).
[6] RAWLINSON to Trustees, Baghdad, 4/3/53. *T.P.* vol. XLIX.
[7] The most interesting find of Rawlinson's emissaries had been Consul Taylor's discovery at 'Abou Shedhr' in Babylonia of a few rolls of sheet lead, inscribed with 'prayers and invocations in a Chaldaean script, apparently deposited with the bodies of the dead in their sepulchral jars'. They were probably inscribed Mandaean incantations.
[8] James FERGUSSON, *The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored*, London, 1851.
[9] W. S. VAUX, *Nineveh and Persepolis*, 1850.
[10] J. BONOMI, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, 1852. 2nd edition, revised 1853.
[11] BONOMI, p. 220 (2nd edition). On the success of all these books, see below, p. 21.
[12] Crystal Palace Company to Trustees: 16.3.53. *T.P.* vol. XLIX. RAWLINSON to LAYARD, 9/6/53, 18/7/53. *L.P.* vol. LII. In this interest of the Crystal Palace Company one may probably already detect the influence of Mr. Samuel Phillips, on whom see below, p. 10.
[13] BM 118800. This is not to be confused with the 'Jehu Obelisk': GADD, *S.A.* p. 128.
[14] RAWLINSON to Trustees, Baghdad, 15/4/53. *T.P.* vol. XLIX.
[15] RASSAM to LAYARD, 9/6/53. *L.P.*
[16] RAWLINSON to ELLIS, 24/5/53. *T.P.* vol. XLIX.
[17] *S.A.* p. 93.
[18] GADD, *S.A.* pp. 194–5.
[19] RASSAM to RAWLINSON, Mosul, 21/7/53. *T.P.* vol. XLIX. This piece is BM 118898, described by GADD, *S.A.* p. 123, and GADD, *A.S.* pp. 9, 54; Text: BUDGE & KING, *A.K.A.* p. LI. On confusions regarding its discovery, see GADD, *S.A.* p. 94, footnote*, and p. 123.
[20] BM 118807. On its find-spot, see GADD, *S.A.* p. 124 (with description). For a recent discussion see now R. M. BOEHMER, *Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, 8 (1968) pp. 207–9.
[21] BM 124963. HALL, *B.&A.S.* XI Text: BUDGE & KING, 152.
[22] RAWLINSON to LAYARD, Mosul, 26/7/53. *L.P.* vol. LII.
[23] THOMPSON, *L.A.A.A.*[2], p. 65 and pl. xc; *Iraq* I (1934), p. 99 and fig. 1 (see below, p. 26).
[24] This was the 'Ascending Passage A', RASSAM to LAYARD, Mosul, 30/1/54. *L.P.* vol. LII (Add. MS. 38982).
[25] They were nos. 13–16 on the south-west side. Nos. 14–16 are now Louvre AO 19901. See below, p. 36.
[26] *A.L.N.* pp. 24–6.

the ground in which I was fortunate enough to discover, after three nights' trial, the grand palace of Assur-bani-pal, commonly known by the name Sardanapalus. When everything was ready I went and marked three places, some distance from each other, in which our operations were to be commenced. Only a few trenches had been opened there in the time of Sir Henry Layard; but on this occasion I ordered the men to dig transversely, and cut deeper down. I told them they were to stop work at dawn, and return to the same diggings again the next night. The very first night we worked there, one of the gangs came upon indications of an ancient building; but though we found among the rubbish painted bricks and pieces of marble on which there were signs of inscriptions and bas-reliefs, I did not feel sanguine as to the result. The next night the whole number of workmen dug in that spot, and, to the great delight of all, we hit upon a remnant of a marble wall, on examining which I came to the conclusion that it belonged to an Assyrian building which had existed on that spot. The remnant of the bas-relief showed that the wall was standing in its original position, and, though the upper part of it had been destroyed, I was able to judge, from experience, that it had not been brought thither from another building. The lower part of the slab, which contained the feet of Assyrian soldiers and captives was still fixed in the paved floor with brick and stone masonry, intended to support it at the back. To my great disappointment, after having excavated round the spot a few feet, both the remnant of the bas-relief and the wall came to an end, and there was nothing to be seen save ashes, bones, and other rubbish, evidently the refuse of the barbarous Sassanians who had occupied the spot after the destruction of Nineveh. This put a damper on my spirits, especially as I had on that day reported to both the British Museum authorities and Sir Henry Rawlinson the discovery of what I considered to be a new palace, as I was then fully convinced of its being so. I knew also that if I failed to realize my expectations, I should only be found fault with and laughed at for my unrewarded zeal. However, I felt that as I had commenced, so I must go on, even if only to be disappointed. The next night I superintended the work in person, and increased the number of men, placing them in separate gangs around the area, which seemed the most likely place for good results. The remnant of the sculptured wall discovered was on a low level, running upward, and this fact alone was enough to convince an experienced eye that the part of the building I had hit upon was an ascending passage leading to the main building. I therefore arranged my gangs to dig in a southeasterly direction, as I was certain that if there was anything remaining it could be found there. The men were made to work on without stopping, one gang assisting the other. My instinct did not deceive me; for one division of the workmen, after three or four hours' hard labor, were rewarded by the first grand discovery of a beautiful bas-relief in a perfect state of preservation, representing the king, who was afterwards identified as Assur-bani-pal, standing in a chariot, about to start on a hunting expedition, and his attendants handing him the necessary weapons for the chase. More than half of the upper part of the sculpture came into sight in an instant, as it happened that while the men were busily engaged in digging a deep trench inside what was found afterwards to be a long narrow saloon, about fifteen feet wide, a large part of the bank which was attached to the sculpture fell, and exposed to view that enchanting spectacle. The delight of the workmen was naturally beyond description; for as soon as the word "Sooar" (images) was uttered, it went through the whole party like electricity. They all rushed to see the new discovery, and after having gazed on the bas-relief with wonder, they collected together, and began to dance and sing my praises, in the tune of their war-song, with all their might. Indeed, for a moment I did not know which was the most pleasant feeling that possessed me, the joy of my faithful men or the finding of the new palace.'

Not surprisingly, Place, who had been digging unsuccessfully at Malthaiyah[1] soon arrived, in a state of pardonable annoyance. But he nevertheless accepted his defeat and the questionable manner of its achievement with much magnanimity, even going so far as to congratulate Rassam on his good fortune, and, according to Rassam, 'seemed much pleased with everything he saw'. By 11th February, Rawlinson had arrived. By that time, ten rooms had already been cleared, and Rawlinson estimated[2] that at least three hundred slabs had been found, which were of a quality to justify their being sent home. But though by these dramatic discoveries the position of the British had been transformed, yet the moment was no longer favourable. The money allotted to Rawlinson for the conduct of excavations was almost exhausted, while Hodder, the artist, was so ill that he could only be sent home.[3] Rawlinson therefore selected about sixty slabs[4] for the British Museum, and applied practical diplomacy to mollify Monsieur Place by allowing him to choose between seventy or eighty from the remainder. He then got Rassam to make a plan, marking carefully all the sculptures removed,[5] and then to cover them up until an arrangement could be reached with Loftus and his artist, Boutcher, then in the south, to take over some responsibility for the work.

It is now time to turn back a little to make clear the rôles which chance had cast for them in this drama.

THE ASSYRIAN EXCAVATION FUND

The creation in July 1853 in London of a body calling itself the Assyrian Excavation Fund, with the Prince Consort as patron, was the direct result of the interest which Layard's brilliant discoveries had aroused and its professed purpose was 'to extend still further the successful labours of Colonel Rawlinson and Mr. Layard', and it was hoped to raise at least £5,000 for immediate needs. Dr. Gadd has pointed out that certain interested London publishers, to wit, John Murray and Messrs. Dickenson (and Foster), print-sellers, especially of sporting prints, might be detected to have sponsored the proposal, but there is evidence that a leading part was taken in it by Layard himself. However, the moving spirit was clearly the enthusiastic and active secretary, Samuel Phillips, L.L.D., a distinguished journalist of Jewish birth, who wrote for *The Times*, and was author of a novel of some merit, successful in its day, now forgotten.[6] Phillips was closely associated with the Crystal Palace Exhibition as its Literary Director and we first meet him in Assyriology when he approaches Layard asking him to write a guide book to the Assyrian exhibits. Yet, in some ways, the creation of this Fund at the time seemed to some both tactless and injudicious. Rawlinson was at first quite hostile to the Fund and distrusted the idea of its competition.[7] The Trustees too, at a meeting on 13th August, firmly declined a request from the Fund, supported by Layard, that Rawlinson should offer them all aid in the field, and they should take over such of his staff there as could be spared.

Dr. Gadd summarizes the position thus:[8]

'Its promoters seem to have assumed that the work of the British Museum under Rawlinson's direction would soon come to an end, and one of their first acts was to propose that any of the staff at present engaged in Assyria (presumably Rassam, Hodder, and the native foremen were intended) might be permitted to transfer their services to the new Society. This assumption was the more gratuitous as a further grant of £1,500 was at this time being made by the Treasury for the continuance of the official operations. The project was indeed singularly *mal à propos*, for it created a new agency which was not merely superfluous but a potential competitor with those already in the field, and in this light it was viewed not only by the British representatives but also by the French Mission.[9] The interests of Loftus, in view of his previous experience, were centred mainly upon the southern sites, and therefore Rawlinson, though objecting strongly to the new society for which he was to work, proposed to give him facilities for his work so long as he did not seek to interfere in Assyria or encroach upon the preserves of the French Mission. Having no Turkish permission to excavate, Loftus could not afford to antagonise those already in possession, but, without trespassing upon any existing interests, he had the choice of Sippar, Cuthah, Nippur, Erech and Larsa, and therefore no reason to complain of lack of opportunity.

Certain sites in the farthest south were reserved for examination by Mr. J. E. Taylor, the British Consul at Basrah, who had been sent by Rawlinson on two exploring journeys in that region during the first months of 1853. He accordingly excavated at Muqayyar (Ur) in the winter of 1853 and at Abu Shahrain (Eridu) in the subsequent season. Such results as he obtained, though of interest in the light of further knowledge, were not such as to be much appreciated at that time, when

[1] The mention of Malthaiyah is derived from a letter, RASSAM to RAWLINSON Mosul, 19/1/54. *T.P.* vol. L. But in *A.L.N.* p. 27, Rassam says less correctly that Place was superintending excavations at Khorsabad. M. Pillet in his biography of Place (*V.P.* p. 53) states that Place's excavations at Khorsabad, conducted through Felix Thomas, concluded on 28/5/53. There is no mention of Malthaiyah.

[2] RAWLINSON to Trustees, Baghdad, 16/2/54. *T.P.* vol. L.

[3] GADD, *S.A.* pp. 98–100.

[4] The list (RAWLINSON to Trustees, as last, 25/3/54) is as follows:

'22 slabs—lion hunt.

9 slabs—part of a series of conquests of Susiana: the Susa Hall [now known as Room F) contains above 30 double slabs, or 60 single, and all connected in one series. Sculpture in very high relief and most interesting. [Slabs 1–9 now BM 124929–37 see below, pp. 39–41, pls. XVI–XXI].

4—Specimens of Assyrian architecture, columned temples, causeways on arches: steles: memorial tablets. [Room H: BM 124938–40].

2—from Arab Room, which is not in good condition. [Room L: BM 124925, 124927.]

8—pavement slabs: one perfect, in four pieces, the others corner-specimens—in taste, richness and elegance, quite unique.

2—Monster-slabs, valuable for beautiful state of preservation. [Room S: BM 118911.]

2—Specimens for Babylonian Hall: Victory over Saosduchinos. [i.e Shamash-shum-ukin] At least half the sculptures in this hall are worth transport. [Room M: 124945–6, 124928.]

3—Dogs on leashes—Lion crouching among reeds and flowers. [Room E: 118914–6, 127370.]

5—fragments of different sorts as mere specimens.

3—from Central Palace at Nimrud; a portrait [of Tiglath-pileser III: B.M. 118900] and specimens of art of his time.'

(Last 8 to be replaced if more interesting things are discovered.)'

[5] The map evidently is the plan prepared for him in March 1854 by Boutcher (on which see below p. 27).

[6] See *D.N.B.* on him. The novel was *Caleb Stukely* (1844).

[7] RAWLINSON to Trustees, Baghdad, 26/8/53. *T.P.* vol. XLIX.

[8] See GADD, *S.A.* p. 95.

[9] M. PILLET, *Expédition de Mésopotamie et de Médie 1851–1855* (Paris 1962) p. 153.

sculptured palaces were almost the only object of search, and Babylonia, whether the excavator was Taylor, Loftus, or the French Mission, was voted a disappointment. Being confined by circumstances to this supposedly unprofitable ground, the Assyrian Exploration Fund was consequently doomed to failure from the beginning. However, Loftus set out as its representative in the autumn and reached Baghdad early in December, when he at once began preparations to dig at Warka (Erech) and Sinkarah (Larsa). He was accompanied by William Boutcher in the capacity of artist, that being the only assistance which the experience of the time regarded as necessary for an excavator.'

But by the time it appeared, the rôle of the Fund in the Assyrian scene might seem already transformed from that of an unwanted and suspected interloper to that of a popular, benevolent and wealthy guest, or, to make a better comparison, a fairy godmother. The Trustees, however, persisted in viewing her activities with cold mistrust. Yet now that Rassam had carried out his great *coup de theâtre*, producing not merely sculptures but (what most touched Rawlinson), also inscribed tablets, when the British Museum had neither more funds to enable Rassam (who was now due to return home) to continue the work, nor an artist to record the discoveries, the Fund appeared providentially both equipped and willing to continue through Loftus, and his draughtsman, Boutcher,[1] the work which Rassam was forced to give up. Correspondence between the Fund and the Trustees took place in March 1854 in London in which the Fund made an offer to this effect, proposing that whatever Loftus found should go to the Museum. Rawlinson supported the suggestion which indeed readily commended itself, since it involved the Trustees in no further expense,[2] and in April 1854, the Fund confirmed the arrangements, which it announced to its members in its First Report,[3] already mentioned. Loftus and Boutcher set out immediately for Nineveh, with instructions to begin work, though Loftus was not at first willing to follow until the mandate of Rassam, (who was returning to England) had completely expired, and he would have a free hand. But by 3rd June Loftus and Boutcher received authority from Rawlinson to excavate at Kuyunjik and Nimrud on behalf of the Assyrian Excavation Fund[4] though Loftus was sharply reminded that any title to the antiquities there belonged to the Trustees, who alone had been granted rights of excavation there by the Turkish Government,[5] and, as there had not been news of the final arrangements between the Fund and the Museum, the rights of the Trustees to reopen excavations at Kuyunjik were in no way thereby to be regarded as prejudiced. The position looked well enough, until news was received in Baghdad in July that the Treasury had granted £1,500 for removal of the newly-found sculptures in the North Palace. Rawlinson therefore decided, with questionable wisdom, to authorize Christian Rassam, Vice Consul at Mosul and the uncle of Hormuzd, to resume excavations at Kuyunjik, as well as to allow Loftus, on whom he was evidently determined to keep a watchful eye, to work there at the Fund's expense. Meanwhile in London in August a very advantageous bargain was driven by the Trustees with the Fund to the effect that Loftus and Boutcher were to be transferred to the order of Rawlinson, who would control all funds and operations, half their salaries (£500 and £80 per annum respectively) being paid for that financial year by the Trustees, half by the Fund; all Rawlinson's reports were to be made to the Trustees and all drawings were to be sent to the Museum, though Loftus might report his discoveries to the Fund, and the Fund might publish such drawings as it wished. Finally, any duplicates not required by the Trustees might be at the disposal of the Fund.[6] The following week the Fund promised to transfer its monies to the account of the Trustees. The news of this treaty of amalgamation reached Rawlinson in Baghdad two months later, by 3rd October, and he immediately put it into effect.[7] To put a clear dividing line between the past and the present, he emphasizes that Boutcher will receive from 1st October from the Museum a new salary of £200 a year and board and lodging, but in future all his drawings, photos and copies are to be the property of the Museum. The portfolio containing all those drawings, plans and copies of inscriptions which he made during 'last year', he states, 'was posted home to the Fund through the British Ambassador in Constantinople. The rights over these will, of course, lie between the Fund and Messrs. Dickenson (& Foster), who had originally undertaken to the Fund to pay for Boutcher's work.' This important portfolio contained sundry drawings of sculptures found by Rassam at Kuyunjik and was long thought lost, eventually to reappear, as will be described below.[8]

THE SCULPTURES OF THE NORTH PALACE

It is time to consider the nature and appearance of the palatial building into which Rassam had penetrated. A convenient account is contained in Rassam's own letter to Layard reporting his discovery:[9]

Mosul, January 1st, 1854.

My dear Mr. Layard,

Before I proceed with my letter I must wish you many happy returns of the new year, and may you live long and enjoy a good state of health.

By the post before the last I wrote you a letter (which I sent to the care of Mr. Murray) and informed you of my last expedition to Calah Shirgat and I also gave you what news we had in this part of the world. I hope it has reached you safely and found you in better health than you were when you left for Italy. On my return to Mosul I dismissed most of the workmen and kept only 6 Karkhanas[10] at Kuyunjik and 3 at Nimrud. As I found the Northern part of the Kuyunjik mound not thoroughly examined, I put a Karkhana to try a certain spot for a few days. Last week we came upon a sculptured wall not far from that deep and large Karkhana near the ruined village. As I found it was the best sign I had seen since I returned from England, I followed the foundations as the upper part of the sculptures were quite destroyed, and to my great surprise I discovered that I was digging in a passage gradually ascending (opposite the tel of Affan) similar to that you found where there were represented "procession of servants carrying fruit, flowers, game, etc." *Nineveh and Babylon*, page 338—After we dug nearly 100 feet from N.W. to S.E., we came to a Saloon. All the sculptures in the ascending passage have been destroyed with the exception of 4 slabs with eunuchs marching before the King.[11] From what I can make out of the fragments, the sculptures in the passage have been most magnificent. The sculptures in the Saloon[12] are almost entire and they represent hunting scenes and domestic affairs. The King here is the principal huntsman and is in the act of sticking a lance into a lion springing upon his chariot, whilst of others already pierced by many arrows, some of which are dead, others dying, are most beautifully and naturally portrayed upon the slabs. I venture to say that the art displayed in the treatment of both men and animals in these bas-reliefs surpass everything yet discovered in the ruins of Assyria. On one of the slabs they have represented a park with an open gate through which is seen the King hunting lion, executed in a very minute scale, as if they intended it to appear far in the distance. I have no doubt that all these sculptures which we have found will be wanted in England, and they will be very easily transported as they are small in size, and thin —their width say from 4 to 5 feet, and not more than 5 feet in height.

I do not know what we shall do about an Artist to draw them, as Mr. Hodder will leave for England very shortly, as he has been suffering from chronic inflammation of the bowels and was very dangerously ill some time ago in consequence. Colonel Rawlinson has given him permission to return home when he likes but I know not what he will do when he hears of this new and interesting discovery. The Post left for Baghdad 2 days before these new sculptures were found.

If you can spare a little time, I shall be much obliged to you if you will mention this good discovery to the Trustees, as I fear Colonel Rawlinson will not be able to report it to them before this reaches you. By the bye, I must not forget to mention to you that we are also finding lots of inscribed tablets in the Saloon; on one there are 3 seals with hieroglyphics, and on another there is a line of Phoenician characters

[1] GADD writes (*S.A.* p. 97): 'What is said of him by Rassam in *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, p. 37, seems to be all that has hitherto been known about this very capable draughtsman, and the few other circumstances to be related in the following pages concern entirely his work in this expedition. Many of his drawings are preserved, to justify the contemporary opinion that they were the best of any executed by the various artists who took part in the British excavations. In spite of this he is otherwise quite unknown, and finds no place in the books of reference, nor, indeed, does he seem to have worked as an artist subsequently.'

I have been able to put together the following notes about him with the kind help of his youngest daughter, Mrs. Hilda Scott, of Kyrenia, Cyprus (b. 1873 d. 1961)), and his granddaughters, Mrs. Nimmo Bester, of Derby, Transvaal, and Mrs. J. Drewett, of Bourne End, Bucks, who kindly made available the portrait photograph of the artist on text-plate 5, fig. 1.

William Boutcher was born at Broadclyst, near Exeter, in 1814. He was trained as an architect and surveyor, and was a skilful water-colour artist, but only one of his paintings appears to have survived, in the possession of Mrs. Bester. He spent two years travelling and studying art and architecture in Italy, and returned home to marry, in about 1847, Miss Eliza Mellowship, who bore him 8 children. He lived in London. Having a keen eye and a steady hand, he became a prize marksman in the 28th Middlesex Artist Corps, V.R. His hobby was collecting Venetian glass. He represented the vestry of St. Mary Abbotts, Kensington on the Metropolitan Board of Works, from 1885 to 1888, and he died in the same year, at Maidenhead.

[2] RAWLINSON to Trustees, 25/3/54. *T.P.* vol. L.

[3] The First Report of the Fund was published on 28th April, 1854, on the basis of letters received from Loftus in January and February describing his work at Warka. This document was found by the present writer in a unique copy in the Library of the Literary and Philosophical Society at Newcastle; he is obliged to the Librarian for permission to reproduce it. For a reproduction of the first and second reports in full, see Appendix. The Second Report, originally discovered by the present writer in the Trustees' Papers, is reproduced in the appendix to GADD, *S.A.* Only three copies of it appear to have survived: in the Trustees' Papers, the Athenaeum (London), and in the Library of the Literary and Philosophic Society, Newcastle.

[4] RAWLINSON to ELLIS, Baghdad, 3/6/54. *T.P.* vol. L.

[5] RAWLINSON to LOFTUS, Baghdad, 12/7/54. *T.P.* vol. L.

[6] Assyrian Excavation Fund to Trustees, 31/7/54, 11/8/54 and 19/8/54. *T.P.* vol. LI Trustees' Minutes of 31st July and 12th August 1854.

[7] RAWLINSON to Trustees, Baghdad, 3/10/54. *T.P.* vol. LI.

[8] P. 17.

[9] RASSAM to LAYARD, Mosul, 1/1/54 (*L.P.* vol. LII, Add. MS. 38982).

[10] Karkhana = 'gang'.

[11] Room A.

[12] Room C.

which are [illegible]. Above the Sculptures there is still the old brick wall about 15 inches high which has some colours on it.[1] I hope and trust that we shall henceforward find something valuable in the way of sculptures and inscriptions and if the Palace turns out as I anticipate, we may find some new historical records.

I regret very much that you are not here, for without you everything is dull. I know not whether this new discovery will make any change in my plans but I do not suppose it will. If the Museum will give up everything to Mr. Loftus at the end of next February, I daresay he will come up here about the beginning of summer but I do not suppose Colonel Rawlinson is the man to give up such a nice discovery to a newcomer. If he will be obliged to abandon the superintendance of the Assyrian researches, I shall leave Mosul soon after the middle of February and will proceed to Basrah to take charge of the sculptures and other relics as far as Bombay.'

A similar report of his great find was also written by Rassam in a letter to Colonel Rawlinson, who duly conveyed extracts from it to the British Museum.[2] Here he added that the slabs at the Southern corner had entirely disappeared. A fairly detailed account was also later included by Rassam in his book.[3] There he estimated that the walls of the room were once about 10 ft high, the part above the sculptures being built of sun-dried bricks, ornamented in colour with hunting or war scenes, of which he seems to have found fragments. But the find of sculptures was not the only portent, for in the 'lots of inscribed tablets' Rassam had hit upon the principal part of the scattered remains of the great library of Ashurbanipal thrown about the palace at the time of its sack in 612 B.C. This made possible the task of reassembling the Kuyunjik or 'K' collection in the British Museum, consisting of some 25,000 tablets, the decipherment and study of which has formed the cornerstone of Assyriological studies, and still continues.

'In the centre of the same saloon [Rassam proudly relates][4] I discovered the library of Assur-bani-pal, consisting of inscribed terracotta tablets of all shapes and sizes; the largest of these, which happened to be in better order, were mostly stamped with seals, and some with hieroglyphic and Phoenician characters. Among these records were found the Chaldaean accounts of the Creation and Deluge, which were deciphered by different Assyrian scholars.

'After the discovery of the lion-hunt room, I brought as many workmen as I could muster to the northern part of the mound and placed them to dig in different directions round that spot. From that day forwards we continued to discover new chambers and many valuable remains.

'Between the ascending passage and the lion-hunt saloon we found a room about twenty-five feet in length by twenty feet in width, totally destroyed: in some parts even the foundation-stones had been removed. To the south west of this chamber we came upon another passage about the same length as the lion-hunt saloon, but a little narrower, in which some sculptures were found representing an orchard or park. A lion is here seen crouching among reeds and flowers, which are most exquisitely delineated: hunting dogs in leashes are being led by the keepers, and a tame lion is represented walking by the side of an African eunuch, who wears a cap ornamented with feathers.'[5]

THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE RELIEFS OF ASHURBANIPAL

There were, as Rassam saw, two main themes to the decoration of the complex of rooms which he had found:—hunting of lions and war, i.e. the king shown proudly victorious over powerful enemies, whether royal beasts or men. Rooms A, C, E, and perhaps B formed a cross-roads of rooms, their axes intersecting at right angles, the decoration of the first three being concerned with lions. The contents of Room B too may have been similar, but its slabs were, it seems, too ruined for us to judge. From Room A only three slabs have survived from the west side (Nos. 14–16), now in the Louvre. Slab 13, though more or less injured, was partly fit to be drawn. They depict in a scale two-thirds life size the king setting out for the chase in his rickshaw, preceded by a guard of at least ten bowmen who are seen marching downwards along the sloping floor of the passage. Of the slabs opposite them we learn that only two survived in a fragmentary state, showing legs of human figures. Turning the corner at right angles into R, the procession was boldly continued, as described below.

Room E is that described by its finder[6] as depicting 'an orchard or a park. A lion is here seen crouching among reeds and flowers, which are most exquisitely delineated, hunting dogs on leashes are being led by the keepers, and a tame lion is represented walking by the side of an African eunuch, who wears a cap ornamented with feathers.' What we have are slabs 5, 7 and 8[7] from the South side, and 13 from that opposite. They are now in the British Museum. They show a corner of the royal park, or zoological gardens, amidst the palms, to which cling vines heavy with grapes, while around them bloom lilies and marguerites. This idyllic scene is the *ambassu* or game park of the Assyrian kings—the maintenance of which custom there is some reason to think they inherited from Syria and passed on to the Achaemenid Persians, by them called a *pardaeza* or 'paradise'.[8] In this garden, an orchestra of female harpists and a lyre player with feathered headdress[9] move among the trees unharmed by the lions, whom they seem Orpheus-like to charm. On the opposite side the shadow of the hunt is approaching, for here is a fragment of a scene showing a pair of huntsmen with hounds in a leash, holding them back.[10] The rural calm of the scene makes a dramatic contrast with the scenes in the adjacent room.

Room C (plates V–XIII and A)

Room C, the Lion Hunt Room, was found in a remarkably complete state of preservation, twenty-one out of twenty-nine slabs being still in their places, while a fragment of at least one more exists. The magnificence of these sculptures (in conjunction with the slabs of similar content from Room S yet to be described) deserved the enthusiasm which they excited at the time of their discovery, and have continued to arouse ever since. With the others, they represent the high-water-mark of achievement in ancient Oriental narrative art, and constitute one of the greatest of the British Museum's possessions. Rassam could indeed well be proud of the great treasure he had caused the earth to disclose before his feet.[11]

Along the East side, slabs 5–15 are preserved, with 16 and 17 round the corner on the short wall. A piece of slabs 3 or 4 has been recognized in BM 124884. The action returns on the length of the West wall, skilfully arranged so that along both long sides it appears to have taken its starting point from the park, where some of the royal beasts had roamed free until caged for the day of the hunt. The beginning of the scene shows first of all remains of two registers, the one above showing bowyers testing and stringing the king's bows, and a fletcher testing the arrows; below, other servants bring bowmen's gloves, spears and daggers. When the main scene begins, the king, standing in his chariot, calmly receives the weapons, while his grooms bring up the horses to harness them to the chariot between a canvas screen[12] held up by soldiers and servants, the purpose of which is to keep the nervous horses from the sight of the lions. Already the contrast between the royal calm and his anxious, fretting horses suggests an anxious tension and an ominous prelude to the drama.

Looking beyond this, we see a tall hillock nearby, densely covered with pine trees and tamarisks, crowned with a monument on which is depicted the very drama about to be enacted—a royal lion hunt from the chariot, with the king in the chief rôle. Up to this point of vantage through the trees hurry the citizens of Nineveh, eager to see the show; women jostling past their husbands, who carry their picnic repast in a bag slung over one shoulder and sternly elbow them back to their rightful position in the rear. It is almost the only touch of humour in ancient Assyrian art, and inspires a feeling of momentary relaxation from the impending tragedy—like the clowning of the porter in *Macbeth*. Then begins the hunt, but as one observer has pointed out[13] it is not so much a hunt as a massacre, a *battue*. Enclosed within a square formed by soldiers armed with heavy shields, the lions are released roaring from their wooden cages,[14] partly made of rough unshaped timber, to be lured, maddened and spurred on by the baying before them of a pack of large

[1] In *A.L.N.* p. 28, Rassam makes his meaning clearer (see below).
[2] RASSAM to RAWLINSON, Mosul, 5/1/54 in *T.P.* vol. L.
[3] *A.L.N.* pp. 28–31.
[4] RASSAM, *A.L.N.* pp. 31–2.
[5] i.e. Room E (plates XIV–XV).
[6] RASSAM, *A.L.N.* p. 31 (quoted above).
[7] See below, pp. 38–39.

[8] See A. L. OPPENHEIM, 'On Royal gardens in Mesopotamia' *J.N.E.S.* XXIV 1965.
[9] He may well be a eunuch, but there is no reason for thinking him, as Rassam did, to be an African. That certain priests (musicians) wore a feather headdress of this kind seems to have been a very ancient tradition in Mesopotamia, dating back to Sumerian times, if that is how the headdresses of musicians on a vase fragment from Bismaya (Adab) are to be interpreted. (CONTENAU, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, fig. 347, p. 450.) BANKS, *Bismya*, pp. 267–8. I have shown reason for thinking that the wearers of this feather headdress in the Assyrian period represented early Persians. See my article, 'Assyria and Iran: the Earliest Representations of Persians', *Survey of Persian Art*, XIV (1967), p. 2997. This opinion is, however, disputed by Dr. P. Calmeyer, who sees in this 'proto-Persian' feather headdress a festive headgear worn by different nationalities for ritual occasions. See his communication to XVIIe Rencontre Assyriologique, Brussels, 1969. See below, p. 55.
[10] BM 118916.
[11] GADD, *S.A.* p. 186.
[12] Precisely similar screens are used to corral the wild beasts in the Sassanian great hunt depicted on the rock relief of Taq-i-Bostan.
[13] FRANKFORT, *A.A.A.O.* p. 99, to whose excellent descriptions I am indebted for several points.
[14] These, it would appear, were called somewhat ambiguously in Assyrian, *muballiṭu*, lit. 'life-preserver'. Cf. JEAN, *Archives Royales de Mari* II, § 106. On caging lions, see below p. 12, n. 4.

Molossian mastiffs, very closely similar to modern Turkish sheepdogs[1] pl. 4 (1), leaping and straining at their leashes, or at the whip-crack of mounted beaters behind them, if they lingered. Of course, not quite so many lions are implied by the ancient sculptor simultaneously to have fought and perished as it would appear to our eye. In the absence of any knowledge of the laws of perspective, and obedient to the narrative convention of the time, the successive moments of the hunt are unrolled side by side without a break. This is, in the language of grammarians, *parataxis* instead of *hypotaxis*. Just as there is but one king, supreme in his chariot, though shown three times on the two opposite walls of the room, not more than three lions and one lioness need necessarily be supposed to be engaged, though the arena appears to hold twelve lions and four lionesses on each wall.[2]

The astonishing virtuosity shown by the sculptor of these animals has raised the account of their death, by his intense sympathy, to the status of a tragedy. It is not like the ceremonious drama of a bull-fight, where the *torero*'s skill is pitted according to well-practised rules against the bull's brute force. It is rather an epic, in which the heroes and heroines are the lions and lionesses instead of the impassive, expressionless, unperturbed monarch, overdressed and highly armed, who butchers them with complete effortlessness. No contrast could be greater than the treatment of men and animals in this art. Why? Perhaps because men are merely the ministers and instruments of gods, and theirs is not to reason or question, but only to perform. We shall return to this later. Here at least, we have a 'tragedy of suffering and defeat, of desperate courage and broken pride'.[3] Though the theme of the lion-hunt was already age-old in Ashurbanipal's time, these are all scenes captured from the life. One lion is thrust back only at the last second, transfixed as he was about to climb into the box of the chariot; another (or is it the same?) bites madly at the wheel. One lioness crawls with a broken back, or crumples slowly up with twitching claws. Others, pierced through the lungs, drag their paws or sit, spewing or choking out their life-blood, or lie, writhing or dead in contorted postures expressive enough of their last agonies. The shock of down-thrust spear against the upward-leaping body suspends it in mid-air in momentarily arrested movement. The pathos of one lion turning his head wearily back as if to lick a wound, looks forward in its suggestion of a third dimension to the art of Greece and the Parthenon reliefs; but there is nothing in Greek art, with its careful restraint of movement, and idealizing of emotion and its anthropocentric world, to compare with this astounding portraiture of the extremes of animal behaviour, of limitless bravery, ferocity, anguish, terror and death. Nor indeed does there seem to be in any other art. It is so far above the ordinary run of Assyrian work known to us that one is tempted to suspect the hand of an alien, such as a Babylonian master-sculptor, perhaps a prisoner, imported from the fall of the great metropolis whose art in this period is too little known, nay, almost obliterated —though enough scraps survive to show that it rose very high. Perhaps the unknown genius, by this exposure of his master's senseless cruelty, aimed to express his real hatred of, and revenge himself on, the oppressor of his native city.

Hardly less daring than the treatment of the animals is their grouping. In one case, (pl. VIII) an arrow poised in mid-air, in flight from the king's bow, holds the scene together, while in another a sinking lion, shown looking back over his shoulder, moves (as said above) into a third dimension, never hitherto attempted in Near Eastern art, and suggests an approach to the idea of perspective.

But considered purely formally, what does this strange scene of carnage mean? The purpose of the military scenes is plain enough; to record and glorify the king's exploits in war, on behalf of the national god, to impress allies, to strike terror into enemies. But in the interpretation of the Lion Hunt scenes, something of an inner layer of mystery remains. Is it just a picture of real events—such as the humorous details of the too-eager spectators suggest? The landscape of Assyria in those times was clearly much different from now, and many stretches now desert were then no doubt jungle or marsh, haunted by big game. A breed of small lion certainly existed in ancient Mesopotamia—indeed, roamed as far west as the borders of Palestine and formed, to both flocks and men, a real danger which it was both the royal pleasure and responsibility to exorcise. In the ninth century B.C., Ashurnasirpal II claimed to have 'bagged' no less than 370 lions in his hunts.[4] Ashurbanipal in fact confirms in the course of one of his inscriptions[5] that the lions had become a serious menace in his own days, and that therefore the hunting scenes illustrate real events:

> 'Since I took my seat upon the throne of the father who begot me, Adad has sent his rains, Ea has opened up his fountains, the forests have been thriving exceedingly, the reeds of the marshes have shot up so high there is no getting through them. The young of the lions grew up [lit., throve] therein, in countless numbers, they. [. . .] They became fierce and terrible through their devouring of herds, flocks and people. With their roaring the hills resound, the beasts of the plain are terrified. They keep bringing down the cattle of the plain, they [keep] shedding the blood of men. As if the plague had broken loose, there were heaped up the corpses of dead men, cattle and [sheep]. The shepherds and herdsmen weep at the lions'[. . .]. The villages are in mourning day and night. Of the deeds of these lions they told me. In the course of my march [campaign] into . . . their lairs [lit. nests] I broke up and the people, who dwell the cities . . .'

In fact, the last lion in Iraq was killed only in 1896.[6] The lion's rôle, then, in the story of the hunt is real enough. But what of the king's? Did he really race after them shooting and spearing, wearing his heavy crown and full royal dress? It is a little difficult to believe. Today, when the toxophilite is but an eccentric amateur, and speeds far greater than that of a horse-chariot are too familiar to us all, we are apt to overlook the virtuosity, courage and skill with which the king is here credited. For even those who are practised with the bow and arrow are hardly likely to have tried shooting and striking dangerous targets moving at furious speed, while poised in a chariot travelling fast over rough ground without the aid of either springs or tyres or swivelling devices either for wheels or shafts. One wonders: did the king in theory take the place which others carried out for him as his deputies in practice? He would then, of course, claim the credit for himself, since everything that was done was but done in his name. The answer remains obscure, but the heavy royal dress in fact seems to imply a formal occasion, almost a ritual. There were certainly long traditions officially connecting lion-hunt and king in the ancient Near East, going back to earliest Sumerian times.[7] Thus the adolescent Tutankhamen is flatteringly depicted on a box from his tomb as shooting lions down[8] when he had died aged but 16. There is evidence too for the royal hunt in Mitanni, North Syria and Anatolia.[9] It was no doubt regarded as an effective enough test of the king's vigour and fitness to lead his people in war, and the Assyrian monarchs' royal seals from the 9th century onwards regularly bore as a device the king, crowned, slaying a lion in single combat.[10] There were also religious and mythological overtones; in an Assyrian ritual poem there is a curious parallel. The god Nabu has dethroned his father Marduk, and to prove his own fitness to rule, goes out from his temple to the desert, somewhere near Nimrud, to fight and slay wild oxen.[11] In some form, then, the king is re-enacting the god's part, and the scenes have a partly symbolic character, and it is partly this which raises them from being merely secular scenes like the other hunting pictures to monumental art. The motif even survived the fall of Assyria, for the remarkable golden scabbard from the Oxus Treasure shows an Iranian King, trousered, but wearing the Assyrian crown, fighting with lions from on horseback. It is probably Astyages the Mede.[12] Sassanian echoes in metal work are too numerous to mention.

The theme of lion-hunting, of course, was continued by the processional scenes of figures about two-thirds life size setting out or returning from the chase laden with dead lions, which adorned the walls of Room A, the so-called 'Ascending Passage', immediately opposite the hunt. We

[1] Similar mastiffs are depicted in the hunting scene on the Imperial Hittite relief at Alaca Hüyük.

[2] For an artist's impression in reconstruction of the same scene in terms of modern illusionistic perspective see text-plate 4, fig. 2, 'The Hunter Hunted' by Briton Rivière, R.A. (1840–1920). This painting, originally exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1890 under the title 'A Mighty Hunter before the Lord' (alluding to Nimrod, Gen. ch. X) was owned by the Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester from 1902 to 1930 but is now lost.

[3] H. A. GROENWEGEN-FRANKFORT, *Arrest and Movement*, London, 1951, p. 180.

[4] LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* I, §§ 519–20, gives the number as 370 slain with the javelin, 15 captured and caged.

[5] LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 935; STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* II, pp. 212–15.

[6] On the lower Tigris, according to information of J. Swoboda, an officer of the Tigris Steamship Company. For his diaries, see the *Iraq Times*, 9th and 10th March 1951; see my *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, p. 70, n. 12. The last lion in Iran is said to have been killed in 1912 near Shiraz.

[7] Shulgi of Ur claims to have fought the lion in the reed-covered steppes 'man-to-man'. S. N. KRAMER, 'Shulgi of Ur: A Royal Hymn and a divine blessing', *75th Anniversary Vol. of the Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1967, p. 373.

[8] H. CARTER, *Tomb of Tutankhamen* I, pl. LI. This miniature masterpiece alone approaches the Assyrian treatment of the same subject. One wonders if some such lost larger work could have inspired the Assyrian artist.

[9] See WRESZINSKI, *Löwenjagd in alten Aegypten* (Morgenland, Heft 23), Leipzig, 1952; B. Meissner, 'Assyrische Jagden', *Der Alte Orient* XIII 1911–12.

[10] A. SACHS, 'The Late Assyrian Royal Seal Type', *Iraq* XV, 1953.

[11] WATERMAN, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire* I, Letter 366.

[12] O. M. DALTON, *The Treasure of the Oxus* 3rd ed., London 1964, pl. IX.

shall return in a little while to them and the discoveries to which they led Loftus after Rassam's departure. Meanwhile, one may complete the picture of Rassam's discoveries by describing next the scenes of war discovered by him. These are in Rooms F ('the Susiana Room'), H ('Room of the Routed Elamites'), I ('The Ziggurat' and 'Beheading of Ituni'), L ('Room of the Arab Campaign'), M ('The Babylonian Room') and the Great Hall, O. From this list alone, it will be seen that the youthful Rassam had every reason for pride in his last-minute good fortune. From being a disregarded and unknown young Oriental, he had now every claim to be considered among the dynasty of excavators, and had fully justified Layard's great confidence in him.

Room C has been described here before Room B because of its great importance and fine state of preservation.

Room B (plate IV)

Of the decoration of Room B nothing is known except for the two panels at the entrance (a). The entrance, Rassam hastened to tell Layard[1] was about 18 ft wide, contained two column bases, and was flanked by 'two perfect slabs about 5 ft high by 7 ft wide, each with *three* figures—a lion-headed, eagle-footed monster, a horned figure, and a man with curls holding a spear'. These are now BM 118917–8.[2]

Room F (plates XVI–XXI and B)

Room 'F', 'The Susiana Room', occupied the corner of a group of rooms (lettered F–I). It was panelled with fifteen bas-reliefs representing the warlike exploits of Ashurbanipal during his Elamite campaign, the majority of the slabs being said by their discoverer to be 'in first-rate condition'.[3] According to Rawlinson, the subjects of all the sculptures were connected together.[4] We shall return to them shortly (below, on this page).

Rassam in his book mentions that the entrance[5] to this chamber (F) was formed by 'two pairs of colossal figures, one representing a priest or some other religious dignitary, wearing the horned cap surmounted by a fleur-de-lis, and a lion-headed and eagle-footed human figure raising a dagger in each hand [*sic*] and holding a mace in the other'.[6] In the South-West wall of the room as we shall mention below[7] was a recess or niche (i.e. slabs 11–13) on either side of which was a bas-relief showing monsters.[8] At the back of the recess was a sculpture (slab 12) representing 'a most hideous lion-headed monster with extended jaws, the tail of a scorpion and the feet of an eagle';[9] It may be noted that by the time Boutcher made his plan 1, most of them had vanished. The North-West and North-East sides of the room, however, were panelled with a series of scenes (slabs 1–9) hitherto mostly unpublished, representing Ashurbanipal's capture of the city of Hamanu in Elam (BM 124929–124937). The scenes are all divided axially by a horizontal fillet, movement above which is to the right, below it to the left. Above, starting with slab 1, the Assyrians are at first seen entering by storming or mining the city of Hamanu, while fugitives hide in the marshes among the tall reeds or millet brakes beside the river. The prisoners, of whom the women often wear a rounded hat with a point, are hustled out, returning in the opposite direction, on the lower half of the sculpture, to parade before the king in his chariot. On either side of the slab depicting the city (Hamanu itself) the upper section was cut out in the slabs Nos. 2 and 4, presumably for some architectural need, such as ventilation vents.[10]

In his letter to Layard of 30/1/54 (quoted below, p. 39 of the Catalogue), Rassam describes these sculptures:

'In this Chamber where the sculptures are almost entire, the king is represented twice marching in his chariot, and there are two castles besieged by the Assyrian army, on one of which there are two lines of perfect inscriptions which I have copied and sent off to Col. Rawlinson. On the Eastern side of this chamber there are two windows or recesses cut out of the upper part of the slabs like those you found at Nimrud.[11] Over one of the Kings there are 7 lines of inscription, half of which are unfortunately broken and the other half are very much defaced. In the same chamber we found another castle which is also attacked by the Assyrians; the epigraph on this is quite defaced.'[12]

In a letter to Rawlinson[13] he adds the information:

'On the Western side of the room there is a very wide river, on which there are a great many boats. Although the fire has in some degree injured these bas-reliefs, they are by far in a better preservation than those found by Mr. Layard in the same mound.'

In this period, January 1854, Rassam received a visitor in the person of an American missionary, the Reverend J. Lobdell, whose letters home are published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. IV (1854), pp. 477–80.[14] At about the same time, the Assyrian Excavation Fund received from Rawlinson and published in their First Report (reproduced below as an appendix) on 28th April the first public announcement of the discoveries in the North Palace by Rassam (see below, p. 17).

Room G (plate XXII), Room H (plates XXIII and B)

Of Room G, which led into the 'Susiana Room' (F), only three slabs remained, showing the deportation of Elamites from a river bank. Adjacent to it, Room H ('The Room of the Routed Elamites') which led into G at right angles, was only a little more fortunate. The room was 'utterly destroyed', but some sculptures in it were in good preservation.[15] These are the important sculptures 7, 8 and 9 from the South-East corner, now BM 124940, 124938 and 124939. These slabs are divided again by a horizontal fillet into two halves (apparently without necessarily being mutually connected), the lower subdivided into three strips. In the upper half is a great riverside city, palace or temple, (very probably Nineveh itself), defended by triple walls, its pillars supported on the backs of walking lions or human-headed bulls. Beside it is a park planted with cypresses, conifers and other trees, surrounding a royal pavilion with engaged columns having quasi-Corinthian capitals. A river runs under the pointed arches of a bridge or aqueduct, the top of which is again planted with trees. In the lower half, according to some interpreters, the routed Elamite army stream past in flight (unless we consider them, as seems more likely to us, as hastening towards the battle). It is temping to see in this scene a representation of part of the campaign against Tammaritu and Shamash-shum-ukin in 651 B.C. A sculpture either existed or was proposed showing 'Tammaritu's people, who fled from the battle-field and told him of the defeat of his army',[16] i.e. according to some at Babylon. (The text of the epigraph survives on a clay tablet.) This suggested to some that in the city we have not Nineveh or Susa but Babylon itself. This theory in fact suggested itself to Rassam, who reports that some scholars found a resemblance in the terraced gardens to the 'Hanging Gardens' of Babylon.[17] The answer to the mystery might conceivably have been provided by a clay cylinder bearing a version of the annals of Ashurbanipal which was found buried behind these rooms in the courtyard, but fell to pieces on exposure to the air.[18] But the city and gardens certainly seem to bear close resemblance to the splendours of Nineveh, as rebuilt by Sennacherib and admired and restored by his grandson.[19] (See Fig. 4 on next page.)

Room I (plates XXIV–XXVI)

Room I ('the Room of the *Ziggurat*' and 'the beheading of Ituni') was a

[1] From Mosul, 30/1/54 *L.P.* vol. LI, Add. MS. 38981.
[2] GADD, *S.A.* p. 191. See below, Catalogue, p. 36.
[3] RASSAM, *A.L.N.* p. 32.
[4] RAWLINSON to TRUSTEES, Baghdad, 16/2/54. *T.P.* vol. L. He states that there were above thirty double slabs or sixty single ones; but this is obviously a misunderstanding of a presumed report to him from Rassam. See above, p. 10, and *ib.* note 4.
[5] GADD, *S.A.* p. 191.
[6] RASSAM, *A.L.N.* p. 32. It would appear that one of these two, that numbered (1) (marked red, i.e. more or less perfect in 1854) on Boutcher's plan 1 (1854), was allotted to the Louvre. According to his second plan (1856) it was by then lost. By this time the opposite slab (2) was deemed ruined.
[7] Catalogue, p. 39.
[8] *A.L.N.* p. 32.
[9] See below, pl. XX.
[10] GADD, *S.A.* p. 182, suggests that these recessed or cut-out panels may have corresponded to the arched recess(es) in the adjacent Lion Hunt Room (C) forming a squint-hole from one room to the other, but a glance at the plans shows that the recesses of the two rooms do not correspond with each other.
[11] See above.
[12] The first castle with a text inscribed in two lines of cuneiform is, of course, Hamanu, and one of the chariots containing the king survives on slab 1. The other royal group, its inscription and the second town attacked, are lost, and together with the river scene, can only have been those illustrated on slab 10 (pls. XX–XXI) (which according to Boutcher's plan was assigned to the Louvre but was lost in the Tigris) or 14/15. It is possible that it was the city Bit-luppi (see p. 64. for the *six*-line epigraph). But neither the photograph of slab 14 (pl. XX) nor the drawing of 15 now rediscovered show traces of any inscription. Slabs 11–12 are marked, by the time of his published plan (no. 4) in yellow, i.e., as broken and valueless. But his original draft plan marks 15 in red, i.e., 'more or less perfect'. It seems possible that here, as in other places, in the final published version of the map, the damage was exaggerated to cover the fact that the Fund wished to give such damaged pieces away, though it is also likely that the relief became much impaired in the interval between the plans.
[13] 5/1/54, *T.P.* vol. L.
[14] Mr. Lobdell was the missionary of the American Baptist Christian Mission at Mosul from May 1852, according to Reverend Selah Merrill, 'Assyrian and Babylonian Monuments in America'; PARK & DAY, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 2nd series, Vol. 32, Andover 1875, p. 323. Mr. Lobdell made his first selection of sculptures from Nimrud for Amherst College in March 1853. Col. Rawlinson gave him others in the summer.
[15] *A.L.N.* p. 33.
[16] LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 1087.
[17] *A.L.N.* p. 33, note.
[18] *A.L.N.* p. 33. See Boutcher's map for its position.
[19] For further explanation of this statement see above, pp. 1–2.

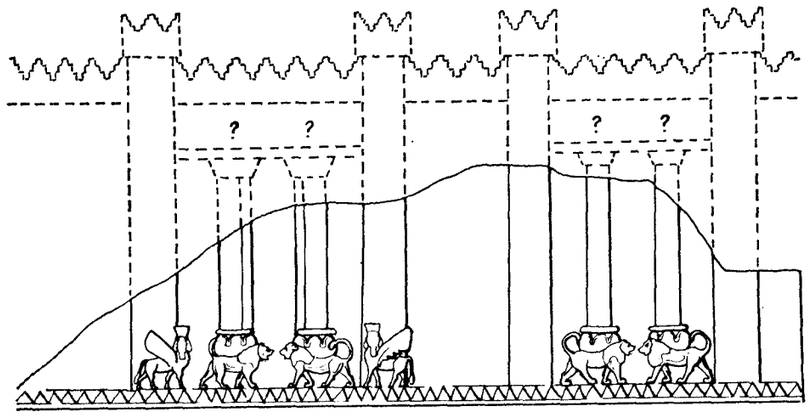


Fig. 4. Detail drawing of a palace, probably of Sennacherib, depicted on a relief

hall parallel to H, 'originally with four entrances'[1] and a portico with two pilasters, opening (presumably) on to a great courtyard' (J). Rassam speaks of it as 'containing other interesting sculptures, representing a large town with many gates situated on the banks of a river with a canal running round it'. It contained in the upper half of slab 9 the city of Arbela and below, the scene of a riverside *ziggurat*. Other interesting sculptures found here and described by the Reverend J. Lobdell (see above p. 14 and below p. 42) are totally lost, having never been drawn.

In his letter to Layard[2] Rassam describes the slabs in this room more fully as showing 'the Assyrian army marching with numerous prisoners to a very large city with a wide river and canal running round it'. This of course is Arbela. Also, in the same room, were two inscribed slabs, one with 'three long lines above a tent, in which are some prisoners and human heads, with a scribe holding a clay tablet' to record them. We shall return below to the first of these inscribed sculptures, which appears to be completely lost. The other text consisting of four lines 'stood above a dignitary being beheaded by an Assyrian officer': this we can recognize as the scene of the death of Ituni (BM 124941) which stood on the island pilaster as the first of four slabs, according to Boutcher's draft map, though according to the published version, it was No. 2.

Rassam describes most of the sculptures of this room as 'destroyed' but slabs 2–10 were—according to Boutcher's draft map—only 'more or less injured', while 5–7 and 9 we find were good enough to be sent on to the Louvre, though they apparently sank in the Tigris,[3] and Reade has shown that slabs 5–7 represented a variant of the Ulai battle. Fortunately, drawings of these sculptures exist, having been included in the long-lost portfolio. One drawing, that showing the 'large town', was for some unknown reason abstracted from the portfolio and sent to the British Museum.[4] The artist's note shows that it was slab No. 9 and reveals that only the upper part of it reached Paris.[5] This being so, we find that 'the Assyrian army marching with numerous prisoners' occupied part or all of slabs 5–8. How 9 came to survive the hazards of the journey to France is unknown. We have here a triple-walled city, in the centre of which appears a palace or citadel, from which rise a pair of circular standards. Before the entrance, a king and priests worship at an altar beside a great incense-burner (Fig. 5). The city is labelled in cuneiform ^{URU}. . . AN the second sign being unfortunately defaced. Professor Gadd read this as ^{URU}[BÀD-]AN, i.e., the city of Dêr, an important Babylonian city, which Ashurbanipal claims to have taken. This is possible, but, since the horizontal fillet separating the scene above from that below is often used to mark quite separate scenes, it warns us that the great building above need not have a necessary connection with the scene below which is clearly a Babylonian landscape. Another authority,[6] however, believed that the name is to be restored as ^{URU} *Bāb-ilu* and represented the city of Babylon.

A fresh investigation of the slab, however, shows that it is simply ^{URU} *Arba-ilu*, the city of Arbela (as proposed by Unger), whither Ashurbanipal repaired to give thanks after the defeat of Te-umman.

The lower scene shows a *ziggurat* or temple tower, set in a landscape of palm trees beside a river, clearly in Babylonia. At the gate of the *ziggurat*,

[1] *A.L.N.* p. 34. 'Other entrances' (H–G, H–I ?) are said to be 'through a pair of fish gods' or 'through horned figures with extremities of a lion' but to be much injured and to have 'beautifully ornamented pavements'. (RASSAM to LAYARD, Mosul, 30/1/54. *L.P.* vol. LII).

[2] RASSAM, *ibid.*

[3] See GADD, *S.A.*, p. 205, who suggests that those survive as Louvre AO 19910–1. Weidner refers them to Room M (*R.A.K.* p. 156); but if so, how did they reach Paris? For illustration, see pls. XXVIII–XXIX.

[4] GADD, pl. 26 and p. 206.

[5] Louvre, AO 19914.

[6] WEIDNER, review of GADD, *A.f.O.* XII, p. 378.

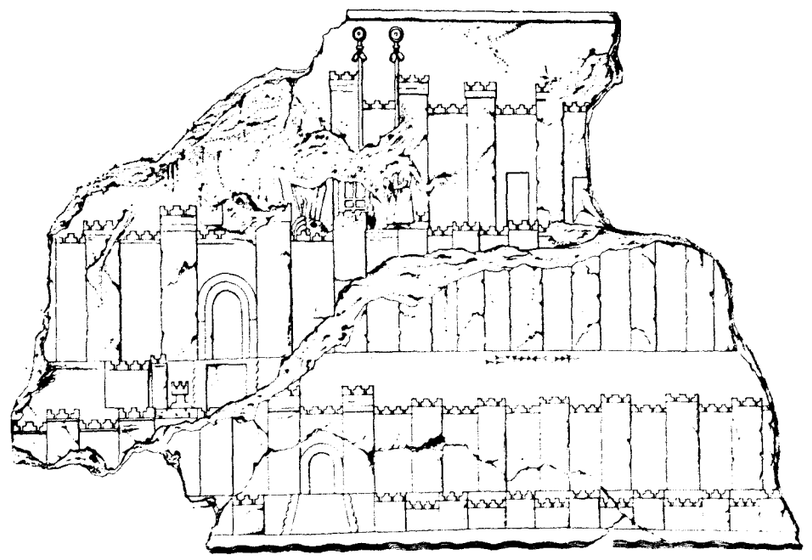


Fig. 5. Relief depicting the city of Arbela

the natives, perhaps priests, are raising their hands in surrender. The summit of the building is crowned with a great pair of bull's horns, a custom known in temples of ancient Elam and also in South Arabia.[7]

On the central pilaster was the relief bearing the scene of the Assyrian decapitating an Elamite, Ituni, the officer of Te-umman. Part of this slab, described by Rassam, was sent to London, as shown on Boutcher's map, but M. de Clercq also at some date acquired two pieces[8] which seem connected with it, perhaps part of the Ituni slab or 3 or 4, which Boutcher marked as 'valueless'.[9] In any event, it is now certain that Room I was illustrated with episodes of the campaign against Te-umman, the Ulai Battle and the return to Arbela.

From the doorways of the room (I) also came some pieces of threshold slabs, carved with designs of carpets, having an ornamental border of lotus and palmettes[10] (pl. XXVII). Courtyard (or Room) J and Room K are not mentioned.

Room L (plates XXXII–XXXIII and C)

The sculptures of Room L ('The Arab Room') are described very perfunctorily by Rassam as 'very much destroyed.'[11] The room was long and narrow with two exits. In his letter to Layard[12] Rassam explains that there were 'very few sculptures remaining, but these have altogether escaped the fire. The subject portrayed on these bas-reliefs is somewhat curious. The Assyrian army is represented as fighting in close combat with the enemy, who are mounted on camels; on each there are two men, the one in front guiding the animal with a stick and the one behind discharging his arrow against his pursuer. After this, the enemy is seen quite defeated and the conquerors are making an assault on the encampment and killing everyone found in the tents (both men and women) and setting everything on fire.'

[7] WALKER, *Bulletin of School of Oriental Studies*, 1952, pp. 625/6. The custom may have been widespread. Sargon's sculptures at Khorsabad similarly depict an enemy city, Kišešim in Media, the summit of which is crowned with stag-horns (BOTTA, *Monument de Ninive*, I, pl. 68). The present city is perhaps Madaktu (see above, pp. 6, 7).

[8] DE CLERCQ, *Cat.* II, pl. XX (now Louvre AO 22,201: see below, Catalogue, p. 42).

[9] There still remain perplexities in identifying the sculptures enumerated by Rassam. GADD (*S.A.* pp. 194/5) suggests, rather improbably, that B.M. 124924 represents the prisoners who are conducted by the army towards a large city, but if so, where is the slab showing the army? This slab in the British Museum (124924) (pl. LXII), certainly found about this time, shows a line of 'Assyrian' (*sic*) archers wearing feathered headdresses advancing to right on the bank of a narrow stream, below which are remains of an inscription. This piece has, it is true, some resemblance to BM 124923 (pl. LXII), which shows men wearing similar feather headdresses, above whom are some Assyrians with spears approaching three priests with fish-shaped hats, who salute them. It is unlikely, though possible, that Rassam took them for scribes, but he mentions only *one*, and there are no severed heads, nor should the archers with feathered headdresses be taken for Assyrians. These archers can probably be better identified as Persian tribesmen, for an axe of 'Luristan' type from the Iranian hills (GODARD, *Les bronzes de Luristan*, 1931, pl. XIX) shows in relief a figure with a feathered headdress of identical type, and it is probably this feathered headdress which survives in conventionalized imitation in the high headdress regularly worn by Persian officials and soldiers at Persepolis, 200 years after. It is very likely that Ashurbanipal set in motion the movement of the Persian tribesmen against their Elamite neighbours, whom they eventually overthrew. These feather-crowned men, then, on BM 124924 can hardly be the prisoners from Rassam's 'two inscribed slabs, one with three lines above a tent in which are prisoners and human heads and a scribe'; they probably have nothing at all to do with the Ziggurat scene; they might possibly come from the North-West wall with the scene of Ituni and be part of slabs 3 or 4, the lower part being now lost, or better still, can be shown to be marching to the 'Garden Scene', on which see below, pp. 20, 55–58. For further discussion of the identification, see below, Catalogue, p. 55. Other fragments of bowmen with similar headdress exist in London, Brussels, Venice, Rome and elsewhere. Some of these may have been among those found by Rassam built into a house nearby of Sassanian or Islamic date. See below, Catalogue, pl. LXII, and pp. 55–6.

[10] See below, Catalogue, pl. XXVII, and p. 43.

[11] RASSAM to LAYARD, Mosul, 30/1/54: *L.P.* vol. LII, Add. MS. 38982.

[12] *Ibid.*

The decoration of this room was in three friezes, separated by thin horizontal fillets. Boutcher's plan 1 showed slabs 1–7 and 9 as 'more or less injured', and 10–12, and (after a gap) 13, as intended for the British Museum. The published plan (2) assigns the same pieces to London, and 1, 5, 6 and 7 to Paris; but in fact it seems that London received 9, part of 11 and 12; 13 is probably represented by that at Woburn Abbey[1] while those sent to the Louvre were lost, presumably in the Tigris disaster (on which see pp. 20–21) though recorded in the drawings of Boutcher, one of which was published in a woodcut in the Assyrian Excavation Fund's *Second Report*.[2] It shows, in the words of the anonymous author of the report—[Layard]: 'the Arabs dismounted from their camels and fighting behind them, a mode of warfare practised by them in the present day'.

The action in slabs 1–7 is moving to the right from the left, from which direction the Assyrians are to be imagined as attacking. In the other slabs from this room (9–13) the direction is reversed. These scenes presumably record the discomfiture of Uaite', son of Hazailu, the Ishmaelite or Arab sheikh, and here we see in flames the black tents of the tribe of Kedar.

Room M (plates XXXIV–XXXVI and D)

Room M ('the Babylonian Room'), a hall of great size, with six exits, is the last of those rooms found by Rassam and decorated with historical scenes. Our knowledge of its original contents, gleaned from Rassam's reports, is now greatly supplemented by Boutcher's rediscovered drawings. From what survives, it clearly depicted the triumph of Ashurbanipal over his 'faithless brother', Shamash-shum-ukin of Babylon. According to Boutcher's draft plan 1 only slabs 2–3, 7, 10–11, 15–20 remained, while 4–6, 25–26 were all broken. In a recess stood two plain slabs, 8–9; but 12, 13 and 17 were good enough to be sent to London.[3] Rawlinson[4] described at least half the sculpture of this room as worth removal. The Louvre were assigned 1–3 ('base only'), 7 (a very fine slab, 'more or less injured'), 18, 19 in the division, and lost them in the Tigris, but what became of the remainder (10, 13–14[5], 15–16, 22–23) recorded in plan 1 as 'removed by the Trustees of the British Museum up to March 1854' is something of a mystery. Nos. 11–12 (BM 124945–6) show a major scene divided into two halves by a broad river. Above stands a city amid bushes and palm trees, beside a canal. This could be the city of Hamanu (see below, p. 46). The Assyrians are demolishing and burning the city and carrying off its booty. The river is choked with carnage, discarded arms and chariots, the wreckage of battle. Below is the dramatic scene divided into three standing-lines, in the right-hand side of which Ashurbanipal in his war chariot, shown twice the size of other mortals, receives the surrender of Babylon after his brother's suicide in 648 B.C. The submission of the city is conveyed by a man wearing Assyrian dress in the top register—this is either an Assyrian-appointed general or a surrendering officer carrying the Babylonian king's abandoned headdress and sceptre. Ashurbanipal boasts of the surrender in the accompanying inscription of nine lines:[6]

'I [am] Ashurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, who, at the command of the great gods, has attained to his heart's desires. Garments [and] equipment, the royal paraphernalia of Shamash-shum-ukin, the faithless brother, his concubines, his officer[s], his fighters, his chariots, the coach, his royal vehicle, his horses, broken to the yoke, all sorts of palace furniture [lit., needed or, desired, things of his palace], all there was, his people, male and female, great and small, they passed in review before me.'

In the next register is a similar figure of an Elamite prince also surrendering. It is presumably Ummanigash or Tammaritu[7] who fought with Shamash-shum-ukin. Along the lowest register pass the Chaldaean prisoners to their fate. Ashurbanipal describes in his annals the revolting punishment inflicted on them:[8]

'The rest of the people, alive by the colossi, between which they had cut down Sennacherib, the father of the father who begot me—at that time, I cut down those people there, as an offering to his shade. Their dismembered bodies [lit., flesh] I fed to the dogs, swine, wolves and eagles, to the birds of heaven and the fish of the deep'.

[1] WEIDNER, *R.A.K.* pp. 3–6. GADD, *S.A.* p. 195, and OPITZ, *A.f.O.* vii, 7.
[2] Appendix to GADD, *S.A.*, and our pl. XXXII.
[3] According to the draft plan 1. According to the printed version (plan 3), they sent only 11, 12 and 13 to London.
[4] RAWLINSON to Trustees, Baghdad, 16/2/54. *T.P.* vol. L.
[5] The published plan 3 wrongly assigns 14 to the British Museum, and gives 1 as valueless.
[6] LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 1036.
[7] *Ibid.* § 1091, 1087.
[8] *Ibid.* § 795.

For many years the Royal Geographical Society, London, possessed an interesting slab (now BM 135202) showing Chaldaean bowmen hastening stealthily through a palm grove. With these we may associate a curious scene on a Berlin fragment, VA 210, (pl. XXXIV) showing a group of Chaldaeans in desperation in a grove of trees; a Chaldaean bowman is giving up (?) his bow and quiver, while another Chaldaean stabs a third companion, and another is falling, apparently slain by a youth, whose face only is seen. It seems likely that these are parts of the final battle for Babylon depicted in 12–13; perhaps they belong to slabs 10–11, or 22–23. In the top frieze of 12–13, trees of the same type as those on VA 210 may be seen.

BM 124928 (pl. XXXVI), which stood as No. 17 on the island pilaster with 18–21, illustrates the capture of a city by escalade, mining and firing, from which 'prisoners of Ethiopian appearance are being led forth'.[9] Gadd considers it more likely that, in common with all the other slabs in Room M, this represented an episode in the Babylonian campaign, and that the Ethiopians are soldiers sent to the aid of Shamash-shum-ukin. But how could a Negro army have got to Babylonia? Nor does this explain the captive Negro women and children. It is probable, in spite of everything, that this represents a scene from Ashurbanipal's Egyptian campaign in 667 or 663 B.C. In this event, as Reade points out, this is the only room to show more than one campaign, perhaps because of its unique position as the Throne Room or Reception Hall. Slabs 18–19 which were assigned to the Louvre continued the scene to the right. They are all lost (though recorded by Boutcher), except for a small piece at Marseilles and another at Yale.

* * *

LOFTUS AT NINEVEH

It was now June 1854. Rassam had left, and Loftus and Boutcher were authorized to excavate at Nineveh and Nimrud for the Trustees. But Rawlinson regarded them with suspicion and gave Christian Rassam authority to keep an eye on the situation. In July, Rawlinson wrote[10] regretting that he was in difficulty with Loftus, but adding tartly that he would not hesitate to re-occupy from him any sites wanted by the Museum, and that 'if Loftus proves awkward he will find the old cock-sparrow a troublesome customer'.

Meanwhile, Christian Rassam, the British Vice-consul at Mosul, who can have had little or no conception of excavation, but was only employed to act mainly the part of an obstructionist to interlopers,[11] placed six gangs to dig along the walls of the North Palace of Ashurbanipal, avowedly 'to prevent Loftus' (who was working on the West side of the Palace), 'excavating underneath it', i.e., digging on the palace site as well. Loftus (Christian Rassam says) has found 'a sculptured wall outside the palace about fifteen feet below it, running directly towards it. I now quite believe that all Mr. Loftus' trenches on the west side of the N[orth] P[alace] belong to the Palace itself, as the sculptures are of the same style, and it is probably the *serdab* to the Palace. Mr. Loftus, however, thinks it is a new Palace entirely.'[12]

'It is equally unfortunate that Mr. Loftus has anything to do with this Mound; if I did not fear troubling you, we would have rows every day. For instance, I had trenches working from the North Palace towards the West, when Mr. Loftus put on several gangs closely opposite to us where he found broken sculptures, and four pretty perfect ones; he then called upon us to abandon that trench as he had discovered sculptures. To avoid quarrels, I removed my men, [Loftus?] instantly put on 14 gangs, and in two days came up slabs, a Lion Hunt, which to all intents and purposes belonged to us; this and other instances of a similar nature have occurred and will doubtless continue to take place as long as he remains here.'[13] The picture of this bitter archaeological trench warfare taking place between two bodies of men, both under Rawlinson's orders, is today faintly ridiculous. The trouble arose because Rawlinson, owing to the slowness of communications, was still, a fortnight later, without instructions as to the respective rights of the Museum and the Fund, and accused Loftus of intending to remove the sculptures that he found (which, he held, belonged to the British Museum), to sell to the

[9] GADD, *S.A.* p. 196.
[10] RAWLINSON to ELLIS, Baghdad, 13/7/54. *T.P.* vol. LI.
[11] RAWLINSON to ELLIS, Baghdad, 13/7/54. *T.P.* vol. LI.
[12] C. A. RASSAM to RAWLINSON, Mosul, 31/8/54. *T.P.* vol. LI. C. A. Rassam also found 'a new gateway in the south-east wall of the town', with an inscription of Sennacherib different from any Rawlinson had before seen. But it was unaccompanied at the date of writing by either bulls or monumental sculptures. (RAWLINSON to Trustees, 24/8/54. *T.P.* vol. LI).
[13] Letter (quoted above) of 31/8/54. The Lion Hunt referred to can only be the series from Room S or the 'Upper Chambers' (Room S[1]) pls. LI–LIX.

Prussian Government.[1] A proposal to this effect had, in fact, been put by the Fund in June to the Trustees, who had received it coldly.[2] By October, the difficulty was cleared up by the arrival of the mail, giving news of the arrangement reached between the Trustees and the Fund, and Rawlinson reported[3] that he had received Loftus's promise to support it. Boutcher, however, was so dissatisfied with the conduct of his employers, Messrs. Dickenson, the publishers, that, irrespective of the recent arrangements in London, he was resolved to terminate his engagement with them on 1st October. But this would also have meant terminating his engagement with the Fund, as he was paid partly by one party, partly by the other. Rawlinson accordingly re-engaged him as from 1st October, 1854, to enter 'the direct and exclusive employment of the Trustees, precisely on the same terms as his predecessors, Messrs. Cooper, Bell and Hodder, that is, with a fixed salary of £200, besides his board and lodging, and on the understanding that his drawings photographs, copies of inscriptions, etc. are the property of the Museum'.[4] On these terms, the activities of C. A. Rassam were suspended by Rawlinson on his side: Loftus, meanwhile, as a conclusion to his employment by the Assyrian Excavation Fund, despatched home to the Fund the drawings which Boutcher had made prior to the date of the new agreement. 'I must not neglect informing you that the whole of Mr. Boutcher's drawings, the plans and inscriptions made during the past year, were previous to the arrival of your letter, posted to the Society under cover to the Ambassador. They will, of course, reach their proper destination in England.'[5] As Gadd has pointed out, they did so, as is proved by the use of them by Layard in compiling the *Second Report* of the Fund. They then disappeared from sight with the exception of one drawing—the 'Ziggurat Relief', which was for some reason separated from the rest.[6] Gadd suggested that probably they had gone to Messrs. Dickenson, of 114 New Bond Street, the art-dealers and publishers of sporting prints, between whom and the Fund lay the rights over these drawings, in consideration of each having paid half Boutcher's salary.[7] In 1936 Gadd expressed the hope that the catalogue of the sale of Messrs. Dickenson's (then Dickenson and Foster's) stock in 1908 might, if ever discovered, point to what became of the drawings. It was found[8] but there was no record in it of them. It did in fact seem to Gadd that with their mysterious disappearance, perished all the complete records of Rassam's finds of sculptures of the 'Susiana Room', the 'Room of the Routed Elamites', the 'Ziggurat Room', the 'Room of the Arab Campaign' and the 'Babylonian Room'.[9] Already the clue to the whereabouts of the missing portfolio, where it had laid for a century, was given by Loftus in a footnote.[10] It was, he says, deposited in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, and it was finally found there by the pertinacity and good fortune of Mr. Julian Reade,[11] after the present writer had twice searched fairly fully through the Library but in vain.

The news of Rassam's discoveries was, it seems, first disclosed to the public in the form of extracts from a letter of Rawlinson, presumably addressed to the Secretaries of the Assyrian Excavation Fund and published by them in the *First Report of the Assyrian Excavation Fund*,[12] dated 28th April, 1854, in which Rawlinson says (p. 6):

'A most beautiful palace has been recently discovered at Nineveh, belonging to the son of Esar-Haddon. The sculptures are infinitely superior in variety of subject, in artistic treatment, and in skill and delicacy of execution, to everything which has been before found. The palace, also, is of great extent, containing perhaps five hundred sculptured slabs, and the marbles are generally in a good state of preservation.'

In another letter, printed in the Report, he adds:

'The new palace is by far the most magnificent thing yet discovered in Assyria. Each hall, room, and passage is devoted to a separate subject, and where the series is complete, and the sculpture is well preserved, as not unfrequently happens, the series are of extraordinary interest. In fact, the variety of subject, artistic grouping and treatment, high relief, richness of detail, and delicacy of execution, entitle the palace to be reckoned the *chef d'œuvre* of Assyrian art. Some of the pavement slabs are most superb, and the animals, trees, and flowers, even the human figures, are much more natural and free from conventionalities than in any of the earlier palaces. There are between two and three hundred sculptured slabs already uncovered, and not above one-half of the palace is yet explored.'

'Colossal bulls and lions there are none, but monsters, centaurs, hippogryphs, etc., there are as many as you please.'

'At one of the entrances there are a pair of round ornamental pedestals, which certainly supported columns; but as there are no remains of such columns, they must have been formed, I suppose, of wood.'

'On one slab there is a city with a double wall and within, a temple faced with a row of columns supported on the backs of animals. On another there is a mound, on the top of which is a castle, and to give more extent to the upper platform a causeway is run out from the top of the masonry, with sharp-pointed arches stretching down the side of the mound.'

His letter then goes on to quote that of a gentleman residing at Mosul (Mr. Ross?). In this letter Rawlinson, while describing mainly the discoveries of Rassam, slips in a reference to the pillared entrance of Room S. This seems to be the first intimation of Loftus's activities there.

The obliteration until 1936 of all recollection of the Fund's work was caused by a series of misfortunes. On 10th October, 1854, Samuel Phillips, the Fund's enthusiastic Secretary and moving spirit, died of consumption at the early age of 40. He was succeeded by James Fergusson,[13] but the agreement meanwhile between the Trustees and the Fund was fast breaking down. In February, 1855, the Trustees, complaining that the Fund had never carried out its promise to hand over its funds to the British Museum, severed their connection with the Fund and informed Colonel Rawlinson accordingly. Rawlinson, in any event, was due to return home from service in the East on medical grounds, after 31st March; the financial year, when his supervision of excavations and the agreements he had concluded with Loftus ended, ran only till that date. It thus remained urgent to arrange before then to get the sculptures home to Europe. Loftus himself died prematurely in 1858[14] on his way home from India and was buried at sea.

LOFTUS'S SCULPTURES REVIEWED

We may pause to survey the superb sculptures which it fell to the good fortune of Loftus to discover. We have noticed how, in the obscure period of the jostlings for position between him and C. A. Rassam in August 1854, the trenches 'working from the North Palace towards the West' began to produce carved slabs, including parts of a Lion Hunt. After the conclusion of the agreement of 1st October with Rawlinson, Loftus proposed following round the outer wall of the North Palace, and on the north-east side, freeing 'all stone basement walls'. 'We are likely to learn much [he wrote] from this edifice of the external structure of the Assyrian Palaces. In following along the S.W. Wall, a mass of fallen stonework impedes the workmen. It indicates the former existence of a

[1] RAWLINSON to ELLIS, Baghdad, 13/9/54. *T.P.* vol. LI.
[2] Trustees' Minute, 3rd June, 1854. RAWLINSON to ELLIS, Baghdad, 3/8/54 *T.P.* vol. LI.
[3] RAWLINSON to ELLIS, Baghdad, 3/10/54. *T.P.* vol. LI.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] LOFTUS to RAWLINSON, Mosul, 28/9/54. *T.P.* vol. LI. Rawlinson reports that 'Mr. Boutcher's sketches of the sculptures of the new palace which Mr. Hodder was obliged to leave untouched, are said to be excellent and will be a great acquisition for the Assyrian Society'. RAWLINSON to Trustees, Baghdad, 24/8/54. *T.P.* vol. LI.
The Reverend LOBDELL, in a latter from Mosul dated Sept. 25, 1854 (*J.A.O.S.* V, 1854, pp. 267–8) writes [Mr. Wm. Kennett Loftus] 'the superintendent for that society (i.e. the Assyrian Excavation Fund) has this morning shown me some sixty drawings which he will send by today's post, through Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to London . . .', then after describing sketches of Loftus's finds in Babylonia he adds: '. . . the remainder of the drawings which I have mentioned are mostly photographic & Crayon sketches of slabs in the palace of Asr-akh-pul, the son of Esarhaddon at Kuyunjik, which were not copied by the artist [i.e. Hodder] of the British Museum, in consequence of sickness which necessitated his return to England.'
'Mr. Loftus has found several more rooms in what is now called the North palace, and a few of the present drawings represent the character of the sculptures on their walls . . .'. (A summary description follows, of the Rooms S, T, S[1], V[1], T[1], including a reference to 'the immense brick wall fourteen feet thick around the palace, and the subterranean construction of the apartments'.)
[6] See above, p. 15.
[7] *Pace* GADD, *S.A.* p. 102, RAWLINSON writes 'the rights over the portfolio of his drawings already sent home will, of course, lie between the Fund and Dickenson'. Rawlinson to Trustees, Baghdad, 3/10/54. From a passage in a long and somewhat acrimonious letter from Rawlinson to Loftus (Baghdad, 27/6/1854 *T.P.* LI) it is certain that Rawlinson understood that Dickenson's *meant* to publish Boutcher's drawings. Listing the matters for which the Assyrian Excavation Fund is indebted to the Trustees, he adds 'I am not sure that they might not legally obtain a Chancery interdict against the publication by Dickenson of Boutcher's sketches without their consent, the marbles so sketched being their property. You will understand from all this that I cannot for a moment waive the question of right, and that as the matter may not impossibly come before Parliament, it is desirable that the principle involved in it should be put on record without delay. The most it seems to me that the Soc. could demand would be to be reimbursed their outlay on the excavations from April 1st to the period when the Museum may resume occupation of the ground, but this would be a most ungracious demand as the Soc.'s expenses may be fairly held to be more than counterbalanced by the permission granted to Mr. Boutcher to sketch the Museum marbles.'
[8] Messrs. Puttick & Simpson sold the stock of Dickenson & Foster, following on the death of Mr. Cato Lowes-Dickenson, the last head of the firm in 1908. It may be of interest to record that his son was Mr. Goldsworthy Lowes-Dickenson, of Cambridge, Platonic scholar and political writer (1862–1932).
[9] GADD, *S.A.* p. 102.
[10] *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, pp. 180–1, footnote.
[11] READE, *Iraq* XXVI (1964), pp. 1–13.
[12] See above, p. 11, and Appendix below.
[13] A well-known writer on the history of architecture. See *D.N.B.* and below, p. 21.
[14] See his life in the *D.N.B.*, and R. D. BARNETT, *Catalogue of Nimrud Ivories* (1956), pp. 21–4.

grand tower or entrance at this locality.' He then refers to the sculptures in Passage R and those fallen from above in Chambers S, T, V, adding mention of 'two perfect pavement slabs, one of limestone 10 × 7', standing on edge behind the column bases in Room S.[1]

The portion of the North Palace which Loftus found has been by some identified with a type of structure in North Syrian Hittite style called by the Assyrians themselves a *bīt ḫilāni*, a word of uncertain significance, but possibly meaning 'a house with windows' or alternatively a 'court-house' by assumed derivation from the Hittite word *ḫilammar* or *ḫilamna* 'a temple(?) forecourt'. It was apparently a building with a loggia on an upper floor with windows standing above a portico, forming quarters particularly convenient for the women-folk, where they can unseen watch everything happening. Such a *ḫilāni*, Messrs. Meissner & Opitz[2] identify very plausibly, with Rooms S and R of the North Palace, 56 ft × 18 ft, where there were column bases 6 ft in diameter, massive enough to support an upper floor, forming a portico and where, in fact, many reliefs were found, apparently fallen from above.

In the *Second Report of the Assyrian Excavation Fund*[3] dated 20th February, 1855 is given the briefest of accounts of the circumstances of discovery of the *bīt ḫilāni*. It is there stated that the ground floor of this building (Room S) which lay at the lowest part of the mound was entered through a doorway 'at least 20 feet below the level of the North palace', by which is meant at least 20 ft below Room E and those adjacent to it. Loftus had not yet realized that Room S was also part of the same palace. In the room itself (S), Loftus wrote 'large fragments and even nearly perfect slabs from the latter lie strewn in the rubbish *several feet above*[4] and upon the flooring of the newly-discovered chambers. Many of these are in a state of high preservation.' By 25th September[5] Loftus had, of course, recognized that the *bīt ḫilāni* was but part of the main North Palace; he also noted that many of the sculptures lying upon the floors in Room S, T, V were 'fallen from an upper story'; this explains his earlier remark about those slabs found 'several feet above' the floor. The whole building showed signs of violent and deliberate destruction.

'Above this entrance wall and its adjoining chambers there was formerly another story [he wrote on 9th October[6]] the first upper rooms yet discovered in Assyria. This with its sculptured slabs has fallen into the rooms below. The various sculptures here disinterred are the works of four, if not five, different artists, whose styles are distinctly visible. It is evident that this portion of the edifice has been wilfully destroyed, the woodwork burned, and the slabs broken to pieces. The faces of all the principal figures are slightly injured by blows of the axe.'[7]

'The greater part of the earth has been removed from the interior of the entrance-hall (S of Plan), though without recovering many fragments of the missing sculptures once upon its walls. It is much to be regretted that the series is imperfect.'

'The chamber above the hall S has also been adorned with representations of royal lion-hunts, &c., beautiful in themselves, but not to be compared with the artistic productions below. The slabs have been a good deal injured in their fall by coming in contact with blocks of masonry; but they have additional value on account of the inscriptions they bear.'

'The slabs fallen from above into the chamber V are chiefly occupied with processions of captives, etc.'

'I have not yet had time to make a list of the sculptures fallen into the chambers from the upper story, but propose doing so before next post. Lion hunts abound and I have no doubt there will be many duplicates which are not required by the Museum. One slab bears a new subject, I believe. The King is pouring out a libation over four dead lions before an altar, upon which is the jaw and tongue of some herbivorous animal! Upon a second slab is a royal pic-nic! The King lies on a couch, and near him, on a chair, sits one of his wives: they are pledging each other, —perhaps in Shiraz wine. The scene is a date-garden.'

One question remains which no one seems to have asked before: how did the ancients ascend to these upper chambers? The only possible place left in the plan for a staircase seems to be the enigmatic Room W, where a stout arch of solid masonry was found. It must have supported part of a superstructure, most likely a stair landing. (See fig. 7.)

We may here note a technical point in the representation of these scenes of massed figures. We now witness in the sculptures from the Upper Chambers the culmination of a system first invented by Sennacherib and later adopted by the Achaemenid kings, of arranging the subject, with its crowds of figures, in orderly horizontal bands neatly marching along a standing line, suggesting that the events shown are, if not concurrent, at least closely related. In the sculptures from V[1] above Room V (Surrender of Din-sharri) (pl. LXVII) there are four bands, the two upper being separated from the two lower by a plain fillet. This is also found in the slab fallen into R (Slab E, pl. LXVIII), now in the Louvre, and probably in the Berlin–Baghdad fragments (pl. LXVI). In the 'Upper Chamber' (T[1]) above Room T, the single central fillet remains, dividing the scene into two, but the lower half is sub-divided into four standing lines. In certain other slabs 'fallen into S' (the siege of Hamanu and the surrender of Elamites and Aramaeans) (pl. LXVI), there are two fillets, dividing the field into three—an arrangement continued on the smaller lion hunt (pls. LVI–LIX). It is clear from this that these series of slabs were all meant to adorn the same room or very similar rooms.

* * *

The doorways of the (so-called) *bīt ḫilāni* on the ground floor were decorated with figures of demons of a type found in doorways in palaces both of Tiglath-pileser, Sennacherib and elsewhere. The main entrance (d) had on the right-hand lintel, as one looked outwards, a slab showing four figures, a pair of demons crossing their weapons, while another similar demon facing the other way, stood behind a deity in human form (half of this slab is now BM 118911). These demons have lions' heads, asses' ears, and vultures' feet. A fragment, evidently from the missing group of the opposite lintel, is in private possession in Paris.[8] (Plate XLV.)

The attitude of the demons crossing their weapons is, as Gadd says, probably meant to represent them as barring the way. At the bottom of the sculpture was a rectangular niche (seen in Boutcher's sketch) in which were found five small figures of hounds modelled in clay, and painted variously white, black and red; they were placed there for magical reasons in the course of a ritual which makes it clear that their duty was to drive evil away.[9] Names are inscribed on their flanks suitable to their responsibilities.[10] A similar group of five with other names were almost certainly placed on the opposite lintel.

At Entrance (a), similarly, the lintels were slabs carved with demons, of which only the left-hand slab (looking outwards) survived. It is now lost, sunk in the Tigris. It bore a rampant monster (identified by Gadd as the *mušḫuššu* or Dragon of Marduk) with jackal's(?) snout, lion's body and griffin's feet and a male god, human-headed, with lion's torso and pig's tail (pl. LIV, see below, Catalogue, p. 52).

So too, entrance (b) leading from the main Room S into the side gallery, Rooms T and V (which were unsculptured), bore protective demons on the lintels, facing, strangely enough, inwards towards the main Room S. Meissner & Opitz,[11] perhaps rightly, sensed that this implies that special sanctity attached to Rooms T and V, and plausibly suggest that here in a recess in Room V was originally placed the king's bed.[12] The only surviving slab of this doorway (pl. LV) shows the same pair of demons as in the entrance. The left-hand human-legged figure is likewise broken. In a lower panel is a sphinx with the arms and torso of a bearded god.

[1] Loftus to Rawlinson, Mosul, 28/10/54 (*T.P.* vol. LI).

[2] Meissner & Opitz (1940). In this work, the authors, making full use of Gadd's discoveries, considered that this North Palace is to be identified with the building called *bīt redûti*, 'house of succession', of the Crown Prince, sometimes miscalled 'harem', which Ashurbanipal claims to have built, probably between the years 644 and 636 B.C. Ashurbanipal adds that it included a structure called a *bīt ḫilāni*. We have, however, assumed that the *bīt redûti* was the South-East Palace of Sennacherib, or a part of it (Luckenbill, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 835).

It is in fact questionable whether this present building can legitimately be termed a *bīt ḫilāni*. In the Late Assyrian palace texts there are several references to a structure so called, for which see the dictionaries and principally *Z.A.* 45 (1939), pp. 108–68, *Orientalia* I (1942), pp. 251–61, and *Z.D.M.G.* 108 (1958), pp. 66–73. This, it is recorded, was adopted from the 'Hatti' or Hittites, and was constructed *in front of* certain of the palace doorways. Where a full description (of this) is given, it consists of a portico supported on either two or four pillars set on metal bases, each in the form of a pair of lions (e.g. A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II*, pp. 76–8, ll. 17–3). The prototype of this feature has been identified as that group of palace buildings found in north Syria and south Anatolia which are now known as *bīt ḫilāni*. However, in these the columned entrance was an integral part of the structure, whereas from the texts it is evident that to the Assyrians the *bīt ḫilāni* consisted of only the portico which was added on to certain of the palace doorways. Thus in the case of Room S of the North Palace at Nineveh, and likewise of Room 15 of Palace F at Khorsabad, where the columned doorway was an actual part of the fabric and not simply an appended extra, it cannot reasonably be considered as a *bīt ḫilāni*, at least as seen by the Assyrians, and instead is probably to be grouped with those doorways which are described in the texts as having their lintels supported on pillars (e.g. Luckenbill, *A.R.A.B.* II § 392). [G.T.]

[3] Published in Gadd, Appendix to *S.A.*, here also reproduced as an Appendix.

[4] My italics, R.D.B.

[5] Second Report (see Appendix).

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] This is a considerable exaggeration: faces are notably damaged only on slab D of Room S[1] (BM 124886) pl. LVII, and in the 'Garden scene', pls. LXIV–V.

[8] In the collection of Mme. Bokanowski.

[9] Ebeling, *Keilschriftexte aus Assur religiösen inhalts*, 298, Rev. 1, 17 ff; Meissner, *O.L.Z.* 1922, col. 201 ff. These figures are now BM 30001–5. See pl. I.

[10] See the Catalogue below, p. 36 and illustrations on pls. I and XLV.

[11] P. 49, n. 1. Their suggestion, expressed in their main text, that this was the room of the chief of the guard, seems rather improbable.

[12] On a similar arrangement in the 'Susiana' room, see above p. 14.

SUMMARY OF CONTENT OF THE LION HUNT RELIEFS OF ROOMS A, C, R, S, AND S[1] (PLATES II-XV AND A, XXXIX-LIX AND E)

As Meissner & Opitz point out, the sculptures of Rooms S and S[1] (the *ḫilāni*) are, in fact, only part—though an all-important part—of a series of scenes showing the king engaged in different forms of hunting which start in the row of passages or rooms A, C and R, leading down to S. Though represented in different scales, these scenes, as Meissner & Opitz saw, are clearly all parts of one story beginning in Room A, where at the time of excavation only four slabs on the west side were preserved in a state fit to be drawn. Three of these are now in the Louvre. The scene depicts, in a scale two-thirds life size, the king setting out for the chase in his rickshaw, preceded by a guard of at least ten bowmen who are seen marching downward along the sloping floor of the passage.

After turning a right angle, the outgoing procession is continued along the South-West wall of Room R; in spite of a long gap (represented only by fragments of slabs 17–10 on the bases of which were 'legs of men on horses'),[1] we may pick up the continuation of the scene in the fine series of reliefs from the South side numbered 9 to 1 and showing horsemen, huntsmen with hounds, servants with pack mules carrying hunting nets, stakes, cords, pegs and other paraphernalia. Of this, the first two slabs, destined for the Louvre, are lost, the remainder are in the British Museum.[2] Opposite slabs 9–13, showing servants on their way to the chase, are to be seen those on slabs 28–23 which show them returning in the opposite direction, laden with carcasses of dead lions. The Passage R then led through a small square Room W (in which no sculptures were found) to the main Room S, where the royal hunt was depicted both in full swing and in its conclusion, in a series of small sculptured panels arranged in two, sometimes three registers which, for delicacy of carving and spirited conception, represents the apogee of ancient Near Eastern narrative art (plates XLIV-LIV).

In each wall of Room S were doors, and these scenes were so arranged around the walls of the room that the incidents in the hunt which they depicted were isolated from each other by the two entrances in each wall. They are known today, partly in original form, partly from drawings of Boutcher. On the South-East wall, we have a self-contained group of three friezes read from right to left and vertically down. We see the king without his crown, but with diadem; after testing his bows and arrows without points offered to him by Elamite princes, he is engaged in a single combat with lions which he fights with bow, sword or club, or spears on foot or from horseback (15–6). On the right are to be restored, probably in the first row, the fine fragments in Berlin VA 963 + 960 (which Boutcher did not draw),[3] in which the king, thinking the hunt was over, is ordering his horse to be brought, but is surprised by a lion's sudden spring. At the centre of the scene, he fights one lion on horseback from in front; at the same time a second lion charges the king's spare horse from behind, but is driven off by a whipper-in, who has thrown his reins free, and by mounted lancers and hounds. After this excitement the king surveys the carcasses amid the homage, plaudits and admiration of his suite.

The lowest frieze brilliantly illustrates two episodes: to the left is shown the king, dismounted, hidden in a pit, perhaps behind a canvas screen. He lies in wait with his esquire to 'bag' a gazelle. This scene is read from right to left. The herd approaches, grazing unsuspectingly. The bucks on the right and left raise their heads to sniff the air and alarm the herd, but it is too late. One is already shot dead, a second (unless the same animal is meant), already transfixed, races off in the opposite direction, to the right, the king, mounted, hunting onagers[4] with bow and arrow and hounds (13–6), followed by his suite leading a spare mount. The hounds have one onager down. As Meissner & Opitz correctly said, the fragmentary reliefs 6–7 are to be restored, showing how from the midst of the herd two huntsmen on foot have caught a foal, at which an adult, probably its dam, is looking back in anguish; others break away, while another is lassoed.[5]

On the two opposite short North-West walls, beside the great entrance pillars, were originally four slabs, 17–20, which formed a single scene. Slab 17/18 (now BM 124781) shows a herd of deer, stags and does fleeing through wooded hills into a trap made of nets. They flee from the arrows of the hunter, doubtless the king, who was presumably illustrated on slabs 20/19, now lost. On the other short South wall was a continuation of the same subject, shown on a broken slab, drawn by Boutcher but lost in the Tigris, on which the herd, pursued by a hound, is led by a stricken stag to the water's edge, while hunters carry away a fallen doe.[6] The shooting king must have been on the lost adjoining slab (22), of which a fragment showing huntsmen has perhaps been recognized[7] in Rome. Another small fragment with a stag's head was found in 1930/1 (now BM 135424, plate XLIV h).[8]

The sculptures on the short South-East wall (3–5), forming a double buttress between the two entrances (a) and (b), are lost. We know, however, from Boutcher that 3/4 depicted the lions pursued along the river bank, very likely as Meissner and Opitz suggest, in South Babylonia. One leaps into the water and another (?) then attacks the horse-headed galley of Phoenician type[9] from which the king despatches it. On the adjoining slab (5), two saddled horses are following in a four-oared boat.

* * *

THE 'UPPER CHAMBERS' (PLATES LVI-LXIX)

Let us then turn to the series of sculptures which belonged to the upper floors, as far as they have survived, and can be pieced together.

The first complete series was that from S[1], the room above S. We do not, of course, know its exact proportions. But they must have been roughly the same as those of Room S, if we place above the intercolumnar space a window or the like, probably fitted with a grille, while the short South-West wall above entrance A was possibly solid. Either this wall, or the West wall on one side or other of the window must have held the lion hunt scene of five wonderful slabs now divided (where surviving) between London and Paris,[10] in which the king, this time wearing his high crown, hunts lions from a chariot, engages, dismounted, in single combat with lions released from cages, and finally sacrifices their carcasses to his unseen god, to the accompanying strains of soft music. In an attached inscription on the uppermost frieze, the king informs us that, having failed to down his quarry with the bow, he had to despatch it with his sword. This frieze, then, clearly is to be read from right to left. The same is evidently true of the middle frieze where the reluctant lion has to be whipped into attacking. In the last and lowest frieze, the king is pouring a libation over four carcasses—a fact which caused Meissner & Opitz some perplexity, as only three lions seem to have been bagged by the royal hunter on the friezes above, and only three are shown carried in on the adjacent slab as drawn by Boutcher. The missing fourth lion is probably, in fact, to be seen brought in on an isolated fragment in the British Museum (124921). As the slab now in the Louvre has a well-preserved left-hand border, it seems likely that it and the adjoining slabs in the British Museum stood to right of the window in the West wall. If this is correct, it is probable that BM 124921, showing the fourth carcass being brought in, stood to left of the same window. The short South-West wall will have been well suited to hold the now lost slabs showing the lion hunt from the chariot in which, to judge from the inscription, the rescue of Urtaku, Ashurbanipal's puppet king of Elam, was in some way involved. This series in all probability once covered three slabs, but Meissner & Opitz are hardly right[11] in proposing to restore to a position to left of the middle or lowest frieze the slab, now lost,[12] showing a dying lion belching blood.

* * *

The famous banqueting scene of Ashurbanipal forms the central piece of the sculptures from the upper rooms. (See below, plates LXII-LXV and pages 55–58.) It is known in part only from drawings, and, since it covered at least five slabs, must have decorated a long wall of the upper room above S, probably that on the north-west side.[13] Its subject—the king taking his ease with his consort—is not in itself inappropriate to the nature of a harem or *bît ḫilāni* upper floor in which it was found. But the occasion—

[1] LOFTUS, Second Report, p. 8 (Appendix).

[2] The descriptions of the sculptures of the *ḫilāni* which follow are summarized briefly from MEISSNER & OPITZ.

[3] MEISSNER & OPITZ, pl. VI (here plate LIII).

[4] See PYCRAFT, *Illustrated London News*, 4th June, 1938, p. 1019 for discussion of the onager.

[5] As MEISSNER & OPITZ point out, no two onagers are depicted alike in movement.

[6] MEISSNER & OPITZ, pl. VIII.

[7] WEIDNER, *A.f.O.* XI, p. 131. Parts of this scene were reproduced by RAWLINSON, *Five Great Monarchies* I, p. 518.

[8] R. C. THOMPSON, *L.A.A.A.*[1], pl. LXII; MEISSNER & OPITZ, pl. VIII.

[9] It is the Phoenician type of ship called *hippos* by the Greeks; see BARNETT, 'Early Shipping in the Near East', *Antiquity*, XXXII, 1958.

[10] MEISSNER & OPITZ, pl. XV. (Here pls. LVI-LIX slabs A-E)

[11] P. 59.

[12] Mansell Photo 1055, GADD, *S.A.* p. 182. See below p. 38 and pl. XIII.

[13] MEISSNER & OPITZ, p. 70 note that the sculptures of these scenes seem to be on a line rising slightly to the right. This is probably true. If anything is to be deduced from it, it is that it was intended to offset a slight rise in the floor to the left up the slope of the hill.

apparently a joyous celebration of the *akītu*-festival[1] associated with the defeat of Elam—connects it not with the series of lion-hunt scenes (as Meissner & Opitz would have it), but with the Elamite battle scenes. The sculpture is, as usual, divided into three horizontal friezes. In the centre of the uppermost frieze, the macabre principal scene is depicted. In an arbour of vines amid palm-trees and conifers, on one of which hangs a severed head, evidently that of Te-umman, the king reclines, drinking, on a richly decorated ritual couch, the legs of which bear sculptured figures of springing lions and the erotic figures of the goddess Kililu, 'she who looks out of the window'.[2] Beside him, his queen Ashur-sharrat, wearing a mural crown, sits stiffly on a throne, and shares the toast. Before them an orchestra of seven women makes music, while another consisting of youths plays behind them; birds and cicadas sing in the branches above; maid-servants fan them; servants or courtiers bring the royal meal. An inscription[3] discloses that these menials are no less than the captured kings of Elam (presumably Tammaritu, Pa'e and Ummanaldas) whom Ashurbanipal forced to cook and bring in the meal to him during the *akītu* festival at Nineveh in 640/639 B.C. Was it perhaps this very scene, confused with the story of the suicide of Sham-ash-shum-ukin, which gave rise in the mind of some Greek visitor to Nineveh to the romantic tale of Sardanapalus the sensualist, who surrenders to debauchery while Nineveh burns?[4] Behind the figure of the reclining king there is attached to a palm-tree a severed hand, doubtless Te-umman's, holding a wand, while beyond is a table, holding the king's weapons. Behind this stands the king's horse (its hoof alone discernible) to which a servant offers food on a table; its harness has been removed and laid on a stool. The subject matter of the middle and lowest friezes were (as Meissner & Opitz point out), of purely secondary interest. The middle frieze, to judge from what little is known, depicted scenes of servants and waiters at table, others plucking fragrant 'lotus' flowers. The lowest seems to have been purely landscape scenes depicting the haunts of marsh-animals among the reeds.

* * *

The nature and arrangement of the rooms in the upper floor is, of course, not known. Sculptures were found fallen into Rooms V, T, S and R, so that we may assume that all the upper rooms probably corresponded closely to those below.

All the upper rooms, as we have said, appear to have been sculptured, and the subject of the rest of these appears to be the Elamite and related campaigns. From the Room V[1] came five slabs, found fallen into V; four joined each other to form a continuous series, and appear to have formed a junction at the right-hand edge with the fifth as a return. This fifth slab seems to have been cut in half, perhaps for a doorway. The four depict the march past of prisoners from the captured city of Din-sharri; an inscription on the fifth slab is broken away. From the room above T, (T[1]), fragments were found of two, perhaps three, slabs. They go closely with four others strewn into S and R. One, complete at the left-hand edge, now in part in the Louvre, shows the start of a battle scene above, with Elamite prisoners in the register below. The scene depicting the demolition of the city Hamanu, which was found fallen into S, again appears to form the left-hand extremity of a scene, showing figures moving to right. Two more slabs from S[1], now known only from a sketch,[5] joined together, depict in three rows, (i) the surrender of an Elamite prince amid pine trees, perhaps Ummanaldas doing homage to Assurbanipal at Nineveh in 639/8[6] (ii) the assault of a 'royal city of Elam'—this much is legible on the epigraph though the name is lost—beside a river in mountainous country; and the exodus from it of prisoners, who include two women with rounded headgear similar to the fashions at Hamanu; (iii) the surrender and tribute of a Babylonian people, probably Aramaean tribesmen, beside a broad river (the Tigris?).[7] While, therefore, the scenes in Room XXXIII of the South-West Palace represent the events of the Ulai campaign of 662 B.C., the scene in the upper floor of this *bīt ḫilāni* depict those of the 7th and 8th, or concluding campaigns, while Rooms F and M, (the 'Susiana Room' and the 'Babylonian Room') and Room L (the Arab room described above), depicted the intervening campaigns.

[1] LUCKENBILL *A.R.A.B.* II, §§ 833, 865, 1071.
[2] BARNETT, *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, p. 150.
[3] Inscription: GADD, *S.A.* p. 180. See below, p. 57.
[4] MEISSNER & OPITZ (p. 99) indeed go so far as to suggest that this scene is the prototype of symposion-scenes in Greek art, the earliest of which is in the terracotta reliefs of Larissa-on-the-Hermos (KJELLBERG, *Larissa-am-Hermos*, II (Die Architektonischen Terrakotten) pls. 22–33.
[5] GADD, *S.A.* pl. 36 and p. 204.
[6] Cf. the pine trees in the building scenes of Sennacherib at Nineveh.
[7] GADD, *S.A.* p. 179. On the facts concerning the discovery of the slab 124793 (capture of Ummanaldas) attributed wrongly by Gadd to this period, see below, p. 23.

DISASTER

But a fresh disaster, to which allusion has already been made, now lay in store for the French to add to the confusion and ruin of the several excavators' work. While the consignment of slabs, duly despatched home by the careful Colonel Rawlinson to London in the French ship *Manuel* and the British *Christiana Carnell*[8] were safely reaching their destination, those intended for the Louvre were destined to be mostly lost. In July 1854, when the outbreak of the Crimean War had made continuance of any Assyrian excavations impossible, Place received orders to close the work at Khorsabad and make preparations to bring his treasures home.[9] In March 1855 he began to load them in 235 cases on to 8 *keleks* (native rafts supported by inflated skins) for transport downstream to Basrah. The *keleks* contained not only the fruits of the work at Khorsabad, but also those of Fresnel's excavations in Mesopotamia, and the slabs from Nineveh and Nimrud found by the English and intended for the Louvre (41 cases) and also 80 cases destined for Berlin. But the country was seething with discontent. Both the Turkish Governor of Baghdad and Col. Rawlinson begged M. Place not to send his antiquities beyond Baghdad for the present, but in vain.

There were, in fact, included more sculptures from Nineveh and Nimrud than the published plan assigns to the Louvre. For Rawlinson, having received instructions to cut down the number of cases to be sent to London to a mere 50 or 60 for lack of space in the British Museum,[10]

[8] As described by GADD, *S.A.* pp. 118 ff. To these sculptures Rawlinson added the important text of Sennacherib (BM 118815): 'In the meantime, Mr. Loftus has just carried out my instructions to saw away from the large Bulls at the great entrance to the old Palace at Kuyunjik the portions containing the famous annals of Sennacherib, and although the stone was shivered throughout and in many parts calcined, he has succeeded, he tells me, by laying a coat of bitumen on each face of the slab in encasing the whole without losing or displacing a single fragment.'

[9] The account which follows is derived from Maurice PILLET, *Khorsabad, Les Découvertes de V. Place en Assyrie*, Paris 1918 (and from his *Victor Place, Un Pionnier de l'Assyriologie* hereafter quoted as PILLET, *V.P.*).

[10] Letters, RAWLINSON to PLACE, Baghdad, 21st February 1855, quoted in Pillet in French translation:

'Par suite, des instructions émises de la Musée britannique [sic], j'ai donné des ordres à M. Loftus de n'emballer que 40 ou tout au plus 50 caisses des dernières sculptures découvertes à Koyundjick, de sorte que 50 ou 60 des meilleurs échantillons de l'art assyrien resteront dans les tranchées. Au même temps, le gouvernement prussien qui a mis 2,000 liv. st à la disposition des autorités de Londres, pour rembourser les frais du transport d'une collection assyrienne de Ninive à Berlin, prétend, par suite de cet arrangement, d'exercer un certain droit sur les marbres que nous laissions à Koyundjick. Vous pouvez bien concevoir que, dans l'état actuel de l'Europe, je préférerais beaucoup voir ces marbres à Paris qu'à Berlin, mais pour arriver à ce but-là, et éviter l'embarras des plaintes prussiennes, nous devons, à ce qui me parait, concerter entre nous un certain arrangement economique. Par example, si je mettrais à votre disposition tout le restant des beaux marbres du Palais du Nord à Koyundjick avec les statues de Nimroud, pour être déposés dans le Musée du Louvre et si vous me feriez l'offre en revanche d'autoriser l'embarquement à bord du "Manuel" des 40 ou 50 petites caisses que M. Loftus enverra à Bagdad au même temps que les vôtres, personne ne pourrait contester notre droit de conclure un tel arrangement amical et réciproque dans l'intérêt de nos gouvernements respectifs. Votre bateau de 330 tonneaux pourrait facilement prendre à bord les deux cargaisons, puisque les 50 caisses anglaises ne pèseraient tout au plus que 30 a 35 tonneaux, et à l'arrivée du "Manuel" à Brest, le gouvernement anglais enverrait un agent réclamer les caisses marquées B.M.'

Rawlinson's main instructions to Loftus, which are of some importance, were as follows (W.A.A. MS.): Baghdad, 7th February 1855.

'My Dear Loftus,

Since I last wrote to you I have received a letter of instructions from the B.M. which has entirely upset all my previous arrangements and obliges me to frame an entirely new set of rules for your guidance, in the matter of selecting and packing marbles for transport to England. . . . What I now propose is as follows: First, I only require one raft-load of marbles instead of two, the number of cases to be not less than 40 or more than 50.

Second, the collection to be composed of the élite of your recent discoveries, and the Sennacherib Annals. I suppose the élite to consist of the Lion-hunt in the lower chamber, the libation-scene, perhaps a few specimens of the Antelope-hunt, the three slabs packed by you in October, one of the mythological figures [. . .], the fragment of inscribed obelisk, etc.

Third, the following must be rejected:

Statues and everything else from Nimrud, the 26 cases already packed by Mr. Rassam, the pavements, all the refuse of Hormuzd's operations, in fact the worse half of what you had previously decided on sending. . . .'

'Sixth. Everything not sent home to be sketched or photographed so that Boutcher had better occupy himself in the first instance exclusively with the marbles which you reject; if he could photograph those you pack it would be desirable in case of accident on the road, but it is not worth while to waste much time on this operation. . . .'

and again, *ibid.* p. 38: (Baghdad, 21st February 1855)

'I have now to consider what is to be done with the residue of the marbles, after you have selected the 50 cases for the single raft load which is now alone required. I wish to place all these marbles in the first instance at the disposal of Monsieur Place for the Museum of the Louvre, and for such as are already packed, he will no doubt reimburse you the expense of the cutting, porterage, wood, iron, carpenters' wages, etc., according to such an average as you may be able to strike. I would also place at his disposal the remaining statues at Nimrud, the pavements, everything, in fact, which cannot be included in the Museum Collection and I will now explain the reason of this liberality, which you may think a little misplaced, considering that the Berlin Museum is also a candidate for participation in the spoil.

I intend them in return for this offer, to ask M. Place to permit your marbles [the new 50 cases to be taken to France] on board the "Manuel" and with the French collection. The

offered the rest to the French at the last moment, in return for the French accommodating 40 to 50 small cases already at Basrah on board the *Manuel* as far as Brest.

At Baghdad, Place left the convoy on orders for home, leaving it in charge of a M. Clément, a teacher of languages, whom he appointed as his consular agent. Before leaving Baghdad a total of 121 cases were transferred to a leaky boat, leaving the rest to follow in the *keleks*. After two days' sail, the Arab tribesmen swarmed on to the helpless convoy at intervals and helped themselves. By the time Kurna was nearly reached, the boat was scarcely seaworthy; it sank a few miles further on at Zecheiya. So, too, on nearly reaching Kurna two of the *keleks* were pillaged by the Arabs; one was half-emptied on the bank, the other sank without a trace. The remaining two reached Basrah, thereby saving the winged bull from Khorsabad and the winged genius. Practically everything else from Khorsabad was lost, in spite of considerable efforts of salvage in which the British ships *Queen* and *Comet* took an active part.[1] Only 28 cases of sculptures were saved, of which 12 came from Khorsabad, the remainder from the British excavations at Kuyunjik. Well might the unhappy Place lament to his minister:

'Je ne dirai pas à Votre Excellence tout ce que que j'ai éprouvé en sachant perdu sans retour les fruits de tant de dépenses et de travaux. L'espoir de voir notre Musée enrichi par de si belles découvertes m'avait fait oublier les fatigues et les déboires que j'avais endurés pendant quatre ans. Je pensais surtout qu'en voyant le résultat, Votre Excellence satisfaite m'aurait pardonné l'espèce d'acharnement que j'avais mis à ces fouilles et qu'Elle ne regretterait pas la bienveillance et la générosité dont Elle a usé envers moi.

Un seul instant a vu sombrer tant de légitimes espérances et il ne me reste plus qu'à vous prier, Monsieur le Ministre, de vouloir bien ne pas me reprocher un désastre où je suis, à tout prendre, le plus malheureux.'[2]

THE AFTERMATH

Meanwhile in London also the opportunity of the Trustees and the public for further Assyrian excavations had died with the outbreak of the Crimean War. Relations between the Trustees and the Assyrian Excavation Fund, always somewhat tense, now broke down. On 1st February, 1855, the Trustees finding, or at least claiming, that the Fund had never handed over the funds they had promised to them, denounced the agreement between them, and informed Col. Rawlinson accordingly. A general meeting of the Fund's subscribers was held on 6th March to agree on 'final measures' as to the outstanding liabilities of the Fund. Loftus meanwhile was instructed to cease work on 31st March. In May 1855 the Royal Asiatic Society's Council minuted that the Fund had transferred its assets by agreement to the British Museum and that 'Mr. Loftus is on his way home bringing the ivories (from Nimrud) and all the smaller objects he has collected during the excavations, as well as the remainder of the beautiful drawings prepared by Mr. Boutcher, . . . the latter forming a more perfect series of illustrations of the styles of Assyrian sculptures than anything that has yet reached this country from the East.'

This collection of drawings fortunately survived, housed in the library of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum, together with the original drawings by Layard himself. They lay there in obscurity for nearly a century until Gadd first recognized their importance and published several items from among them.[3] Some further material from them is included in the present work. The greatest part of what they contain, however, relates to the sculptures from the palace of Sennacherib, and will, it is hoped, be published at a proper time.

* * *

As we have said, in 1858, Loftus, who had been transferred to a post in the Geological Survey of India, fell sick and died on board ship on his way home. With his death expired the prospect of publishing either any adequate account of the excavations or the drawings of the sculptures of the palace of Ashurbanipal, at a time when all participants were probably still in existence.

Although the Assyrian Excavation Fund lingered on until 1873, as a mere bank account, no further excavation took place for nearly 20 years. In the meanwhile, the public interest was sustained by the appearance of popular publications describing the Assyrian palaces and their discovery in a digestible form.[4]

Thus Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains* (1849) ran through six editions, and his *Nineveh and Babylon* (1853) had at least three popular abridgements. To these might be joined Loftus's *Travels in Chaldaea and Susiana* (1857). Other books, largely based on these, were equally in demand; W. S. Vaux's *Nineveh and Persepolis* (1850) had four editions and James Fergusson's *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis restored* (1850) had two editions while Joseph Bonomi's *Nineveh and its Palaces: the Discoveries of Botta and Layard applied to the elucidation of Holy Writ*, published in 1852, had five editions. To these might be joined G. Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies* (1862–7, 2nd edition, 1871). An encouragement to serious study was doubtless intended by the monumental publication of V. Place's *Ninive et l'Assyrie* (1867) 3 vols., which included many drawings of sculptures found by Loftus at Kuyunjik; but its size and price can hardly have assisted its circulation except to libraries and connoisseurs. Instead, the interest of the world of scholars turned to the surprising wealth of literary and historical information which the decipherers of the cuneiform texts were beginning to produce.

* * *

GEORGE SMITH'S RESUMPTION OF THE EXCAVATIONS

The resumption of the excavations at Kuyunjik after a pause of nearly 20 years came about in dramatic circumstances. There was then on the staff of the British Museum, as an Assistant, one George Smith, born in 1840, who, though originally apprenticed to learn the art of engraving bank-notes, abandoned it for the Museum. According to Budge he was taken on there as a 'repairer' of clay tablets about 1861 in the Department of Oriental Antiquities under Dr. Birch.[5] But such was his ability, enthusiasm and self-taught grasp of the cuneiform script that he was promoted to be an Assistant in 1870 in the Department[6]. He was given the task of working over, classifying, joining and copying the cuneiform texts for the third and fourth volumes of Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions*. But in the winter of 1872 he made the startling discovery that a tablet from Kuyunjik contained the Assyrian account of the Deluge. He found that the large fragment K.3375 contained a large part of the legend, but was only legible on one side; the greater part of the other was covered with a thick whitish deposit, which Mr. Ready, a cleaner

vessel, it seems, is of 350 tons, and Place's collection cannot possibly nearly furnish a full cargo, so that I conceive it to be quite a legitimate request on my part. . . .'

'I think in all probability that M. Place would take all the marbles of the North Palace at Kuyunjik which you reject. Should he leave any portion, however, such portion is at the disposal of the Prussian Government if you have received any definite instructions about executing Phillip's bargain. Otherwise, Hector has offered to take all such marbles off our hands, refunding to us all expenses of cutting, packing, porterage, etc. conveying the marbles to Egypt at his own risk and cost and subsequently engaging to give the B.M. the refusal of them on payment of the actual expense of transport. . . .'

'You are now at perfect liberty to select a few marbles at Nimrud for yourself; the order of precedence in disposing of the marbles is as follows:

1st, British Museum: 2, French; 3, Prussian (if you have any definite instructions on this head from Murray or Fergusson, but not otherwise); 4, Hector (with condition of giving the Museum the refusal); 5, private parties.'

For the share of the Prussian Government we may look to the sculptures VA 210, 960 + 963, 961, 965–7, 969 (See GADD, *S.A.* pp. 217–19). It does not appear that Mr. Hector's option was ever exercised; for his collection of sculptures of Sargon, see GADD, pp. 160–2. As to the private parties, we can perhaps point to the famous slab of the belching lion from the Lion-hunt, now lost (See GADD, pp. 182–3), and perhaps the fragment at Detroit No. 4481, showing a man and horses (plate V), apparently also from the Lion-hunt.

[1] It is understood that a Japanese expedition is at the time of writing (1971) undertaking a search for these sunken reliefs.

[2] PILLET, *V.P.* pp. 83–4.

[3] GADD, *S.A.* (1936).

[4] See above, p. 9 on these.

[5] An interesting and detailed memoir of Smith will be found in E. W. BUDGE, *Rise and Progress of Assyriology* (1925), pp. 106–19, but it appears to contain substantial inaccuracies regarding Smith's beginnings. Budge's account of Smith's employment at the Museum (*ibid.* pp. 107–8) seems to be completely erroneous. The true account appears from the Department's Correspondence volumes and the correspondence of H. F. Fox Talbot (now preserved at Lacock Abbey).

There are miscellaneous letters to Birch between 19/8/1858 and 30/8/1863 from which it appears that Smith was during this period treated as an outsider. In a letter to Birch dated 12/2/1866 Smith says: 'I wished to be a candidate for your assistant but on enquiry I found that there was a young man in the Museum who has the requisite knowledge and is approved of by Sir H. Rawlinson.' This was presumably Mr. Coxe who died some four years later.

In a further letter to Birch, dated January 1867, Smith says: 'In answer to our conversation of Saturday last, I should be happy to aid Sir H. C. Rawlinson in the publication of the Assyrian Inscriptions at the sum you mentioned (£100 per annum).' This is the appointment to which Smith himself refers in his *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 11. A little over a year later, on 8/5/1868, Smith writes to Birch: 'I have considered the matter and am willing to undertake the work on the Assyrian Collection in the British Museum under your direction and control, to separate, copy, prepare the fragments for joining and such other work as you may judge necessary, for one year, to attend during the Museum hours, remuneration to be £150.'

This later appointment was evidently the result of the serious illness of Birch's assistant, Mr. Coxe, which is remarked upon by Birch in a letter to Fox Talbot dated 1.iv.1868. Coxe finally died on 18th December 1869, and Smith applied for the vacant assistantship. His application, supported by Layard, Norris and Fox Talbot, was successful (letters from Birch to Fox Talbot, dated 18/12/1868, 15/1/1869, 14/3/1869, Birch to Layard, 27/12/1869, and Smith to Fox Talbot 10/1/1870, 19/1/1870, 18/3/1870), and on 18/3/1870 Smith could write to Fox Talbot: 'I have received notice of my appointment today and enter on my duties next Monday.' [C.B.F.W.]

[6] Not 1866, as stated by Budge.

and repairer, was deputed to remove. Budge[1] humorously describes the result:

'A few days later, he took back the tablet, which he had succeeded in bringing into the state in which it now is, and gave it to Smith, who was then working with Rawlinson in the room above the Secretary's Office. Smith took the tablet and began to read over the lines which Ready had brought to light; and when he saw that they contained the portion of the legend he had hoped to find there, he said, "I am the first man to read that after more than two thousand years of oblivion." Setting the tablet on the table, he jumped up and rushed about the room in a great state of excitement, and, to the astonishment of those present, began to undress himself!'

In his book,[2] Smith modestly relates that he reported his find to the Society of Biblical Archaeology on 3rd December 1872. The news created quite a sensation all over Europe, and the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph* promptly came forward with an offer of 1000 guineas to enable the excavations at Kuyunjik to be resumed, with a view to searching for the missing portions of the text; their only condition was that Smith should be allowed to take charge of the work. Though Smith was totally inexperienced in Oriental excavation, the Trustees gave him 6 months' leave on the recommendation of Rawlinson and Birch, which he accepted, and left on 23rd January. On 2nd March, he reached the ruins of Nineveh, and started work there on 7th May on the 'library space' of the South-West Palace and the south-east corner of the North Palace.[3] He certainly did not want for good luck. In cleaning up an old pit in the latter palace, made by previous excavators, he found some fragments of tablets on 14th May, one of which, to his 'surprise and gratification . . . contained the greater portion of seventeen lines of inscription belonging to the first column of the Chaldaean account of the Deluge, and fitting into the only place where there was a serious blank in the story'.[4] Seldom can a *tour-de-force* of discovery have been so restrainedly described by its author. Many other tablets and fragments of inscriptions were found, and some new rooms 'similar to those in the S.E. palace at Nimrud' were opened in the northern part of Sennacherib's Palace. Further to the south-east, he uncovered a 'later wall, in constructing which some fine sculptures of the age of Assur-nasir-pal, B.C. 885, had been cut up and destroyed'.

Smith concluded his first campaign on 8th June 1873. But hardly had he returned when he was promptly sent out again by the Trustees, to work this time on their behalf, the *Daily Telegraph* making over to them their *firman*, or permit.[5] He left on 25th November from London and returned to Mosul on New Year's day 1874[6] to reopen the work. In spite of harassing tactics by Turkish officials, Smith made soundings in 'the large space extending over the middle and East of the mound where no building has been discovered. On the eastern edge of the mound overhanging the stream of the Khosr were remains of sculptures and mounds which had yielded inscriptions stating that they came from the Temple of Nebo and Merodach. This temple was built by Vulnirari III, 812 B.C., and restored by Sargon, 712 B.C. . . . Broken fragments of sculpture from Assyrian buildings were found in various places, and among them a relief of a horseman and part of a gigantic winged man-headed bull.'[7] 'To the west of this position and nearer the middle of the mound' he made more soundings and reached a 'chamber' with a niche, but from the woodcut of a lamp found in it it seems to have been Parthian. Near the entrance of the South-West Palace, 'close to the spot where the former excavators found a broken obelisk', he found inscriptions of Shalmaneser I, Tukulti-Ninurta, Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III referring to the Ishtar temple evidently near. 'Between the chambers in the centre of the mound and the eastern edge', again, he alighted on 'fragments of a palace and a temple', but reused in a later building. Nearby were fragments of an obelisk and some sculptures; one showing a procession of soldiers, perhaps from a lost portion of the Ulai battle scenes,[8] is now BM 135109.

To the north of this spot, near the southern corner of Ashurbanipal's palace, he found 'the head of a female divinity, the hair arranged in bunches of curls on each side, the face exhibiting the usual corpulent style of Assyrian female beauty'.[9] In the southern corner of the same palace he struck a 'ruined entrance with the bases of two columns in the doorway', one of which was brought to England.[10] The main activity, however, centred on the so-called 'library chamber' in the palace of Sennacherib (Room LXI) and led to the discovery of very many tablets in adjoining rooms, from which Smith concluded that the library had been originally stored in an upper floor from which they had fallen. He drew an oval line of 700 ft in length[11] around the library chamber running through, and in this area removed and sifted the rubble and dumps of his predecessor till he reached the Assyrian floor-levels, finding numerous cuneiform tablets.[12] In the western part of the palace a fragment of a relief emerged bearing a representation of a dead buffalo in a stream.[13] It is tempting to see in it a detail of the Ulai battle.

The excavations terminated by the end of March 1874, when the *firman* expired. In the words of another excavator,[14]

'He had increased his workmen to the unwieldy number of six hundred, far too many for one man to supervise properly; indeed, it would have given enough work for half a dozen Europeans to examine the antiquities found, apart from the little daily incidents and worries which fall to the lot of every excavator in the East who has any sense of sympathy. Next the floods came and increased his difficulties. Then a charge was brought against him that he had disturbed a Mahomedan tomb: then a ridiculously exorbitant demand for compensation for damages: then a charge of blasphemy against his dragoman. So, probably rightly, he closed down the excavations on March 12th, only to be delayed in Mosul until April 4th, by the additional annoyance of the Governor demanding half the antiquities.'

A brief report, mainly dealing with his work on the South West Palace was published on July 7th.[15]

According to Budge, much of Smith's troubles were caused by his resolute refusal to follow the ways of the East and bribe the officials who obstructed him. According, however, to Rassam, they were greatly caused by his having a *firman* only of an inferior kind, in his own name as a private person, not in that of the Trustees', subjecting him to all manner of interference, instead of one granted from one friendly government to another. Both criticisms sound fair. But the fruits of Smith's two expeditions in finding tablets and inscriptions were such that the Trustees decided to send him out yet again. He left for Constantinople in October 1875, but owing to the usual interminable Turkish procrastinations, he was unable to obtain a permit till March or to reach Mosul to start work before June 1876. The time was more than unpropitious. There was cholera in Syria and bubonic plague was rampant at Hillah near Baghdad. The desert was unsafe as the Arab tribes were either in revolt or fighting each other. The season was now too hot for excavation. There was nothing for it but to return home. Weary and disappointed he left Mosul at the end of July and set out for Aleppo. In spite of the warnings of the French Vice-Consul and the natives experienced in travelling, he insisted on marching during the day, which no native ever does in summer; and he tried to live on the coarse hard breadcakes of the country and dates, like the natives. A few days' journey away from Aleppo, he succumbed to dysentery. The heart-breaking picture of his tragic end is movingly told in the shaky jottings in his diary,[16] which also give his last testament:

'night 9(th)–10(th) from Biradjik to Ikisjah ill all the time. 10th, send Mathewson for taktaravan'.[17] 11(th) better rest decided improvement; 12(th) not so well, purge brought low. If doctor present, I should recover but he has not come. Very doubtful case. If fatal, farewell to my dear Mary and all the little ones. My work has been entirely for the science I study. I hope the friends protect my family. My collection includes some important specimens including the two earliest statuettes known in Asia before the Semitic period; they are in my long boots—beside me in my trunk there are about thirty five tablets and fragments, about twenty valuable, some unique including the tablet of Labir-basi-kurdu the Laborosoarchus of Berosus.[18] There is a

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 153.
[2] SMITH, *A.D.* (1875), p. 14.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 97–103.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 97.
[5] The finances appear this time to have been supplemented by adding the balance of the money standing to the account of the Assyrian Excavation Fund, still nominally in existence, amounting to £167.13s.6d. to the £1000 obtained from the Treasury by the Trustees (W.A.A. Departmental Correspondence, 30/10/73).
[6] *Ibid.* p. 134.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 139.
[8] *Ibid.*, woodcut, p. 142.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 142. This head is presumably that illustrated on his p. 248 (now BM 135106).
[10] *Ibid.* p. 143. Now BM 91989 (here pl. I).
[11] His description of its course is so vague as to be hard to follow.
[12] The stone lintel and small objects which he illustrates (pp. 146–7) and claims as Assyrian are probably of Parthian or later date. (Fork: now BM 91326; bone spoon: 118950; lintel (illustrated on Smith's book cover) BM 118896). For the tablets, etc. see the Collections *D[aily] T[elegraph]*, 1–384: tablets catalogued in BEZOLD, *Catalogue of the . . . Kouyunjik Collection* IV, pp. 1540–69; and also the Collection Sm[ith] catalogued in BEZOLD pp. 1371–1539.
[13] SMITH, *A.D.* ill. p. 148 (now BM 135751).
[14] THOMPSON, *C.E.N.* pp. 53–4.
[15] George SMITH, 'Account of Recent Excavations . . . made on the site of Nineveh', *T.S.B.A.* 3 (1874), pp. 446–64.
[16] Add. MS. 30425 in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum.
[17] A kind of litter, slung between two horses. See picture BUDGE, *B.N.T.* II, pl. opp. p. 69.
[18] These objects cannot be certainly identified but are probably in the S† 76-11-17 collection. Laborosoarchus is Labashi-marduk (mentioned in BM 30417). See BOSCAWEN, *T.S.B.A.*, 6, pp. 11, 78.

large field of study in my collection. I intended to work it out but desire now that my antiquities and notes may be thrown open to all students. I have done my duty thoroughly. I owe Mathewson £38 and £20. I was going to make a present up to the end of August in all 58£ and present. . . . I do not fear the change but desire to live for my family, perhaps all may be well yet. . . . People here are kind after their fashion but make a great noise so I cannot rest. 13 August Mathewson returned and Mr. Parsons dentist at Aleppo decided improvement bottle of beer appetite returning fail a little in evening—taktaravan very bad start night 13–14 rough jolting.'[1]

The last entry is on the 16th, at Chibombek[2]. The courageous man, now sinking fast, was carried on to Aleppo, where he died on 19th August at the age of 36, leaving at home a widow with six young children. It was truly a tragic sacrifice of a brilliant career, for his astonishing achievements in decipherment and his recovery of 3000 more tablets from the Royal Library of Nineveh are still honoured today. He was, however, happily not deceived in his friends. The Queen granted his widow a pension from the Civil List, and a fund was raised for the education and maintenance of his children.

* * *

RASSAM'S RETURN

Although the shock of Smith's untimely death cast a gloom over the Assyrian excavations, the Trustees were now more convinced than ever by his discoveries of the need to renew their undertakings. A curious additional reason with a strangely modern ring was further invoked to hasten the work—namely, the shadow of Russia looming over Turkey. Birch quotes to Layard as his reasons 'the increasing difficulties in Egypt', which is 'almost exhausted of antiquities'(!) and the uncertainties over Turkey's fate—she was now at war with Russia. 'If Armenia and Assyria are lost, Russia will allow no excavations.'[3] The Trustees turned once more to Hormuzd Rassam who had now retired in 1869 on pension from his career in the service of the India Government. To assist his task, Rassam was given the quasi-diplomatic status of temporary British Vice-Consul at Mosul. But the Turkish authorities persistently refused the necessary *firman*, or the British Embassy were unable to exert themselves to get it, until by a happy chance Sir Henry Layard himself was appointed ambassador to the Porte in the Spring of 1877 and the *firman* was eventually obtained for the Trustees, in the form desired, in January 1878. Rassam's instructions, he tells us[4] were

'to try and find as many fragments as possible from the libraries of Assur-bani-pal and Sennacherib, for the completion of the records which were already amongst the national collection in London. Although that was the first object of my mission, I was, nevertheless, more eager to discover some new ancient sites than to confine my whole energy on such a tame undertaking, seeing that in this operation I had only to point out to my overseers where and how to dig, and they must come upon the relics we were in search of. My aim was to discover unknown edifices, and to bring to light some important Assyrian monument for the gratification of the British public, especially those who valued such discoveries either for their Biblical or literary studies.'

He kept his promise. Of his excavations at Balawat, Van, Babylon, Abu Habbah, Tel-loh, Ashur, Tel Ibrahim, Tel Igraini, and elsewhere, this is no place to speak. We are here concerned only with Kuyunjik. With it, Nebi Yunus, the traditional tomb of the Prophet Jonah, originally a Chaldaean church,[5] now a mosque, may be reckoned to belong. It crowns a mound on the West wall of the circuit of Nineveh. Layard,[6] causing a native at the site to dig in his cellars and bring him any inscriptions that he found, proved that it covered a palace or palaces of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. After his departure from Mesopotamia, another native, while digging foundations for his house, discovered two colossal human-headed bulls and large slabs sculptured with figures of a king fighting lions. The Turkish Vali, Hilmi Pasha, is said to have taken possession of them, and to have carried on excavations there for a short time, uncovering sculptured slabs and inscriptions.[7] These finds are stated to have disappeared. In 1879, Rassam arranged with some of the householders of Nebi Yunus that he should buy their houses and land and explore what lay beneath them. But he was stopped by the Turkish authorities before he made any finds 'except a few enamelled bricks and small objects of interest.'[8] One item of exceptional interest to us from this site, which is passed over very lightly by Rassam, is the terracotta plaque, showing a king fighting a lion, apparently a sculptor's model for one of the reliefs of the smaller Lion Hunt.[9] At Kuyunjik, he engaged 500 men to work in the old trenches.[10] He reports finding 'an almost perfect decagonic terra-cotta cylinder, covered with nearly 1,300 lines of fine cuneiform characters detailing the conquests and extension of the sway of Assurbanipal'.[11] The discovery of this document embedded in a wall encouraged Rassam, not merely to clear out the rooms of the palaces of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal which his predecessors had left untouched while tunnelling along the sculptures, but also to break down every wall that seemed likely to contain relics of the past.[12] He also reports finding in the palace of Sennacherib a hoard of 145 Sassanian silver coins[13] and there is a passing mention of tablets which, it appears, at first came from Rooms XXIX, LX, LXXI and outside Chamber III. In fact, these finds of tablets were both numerous and important[14] but Rassam himself was plainly not interested in them, and as appears clearly from his book, left their excavation largely to his overseers.[15] In a letter to Newton,[16] he mentions 'a nice and interesting piece of sculpture' found in the Northern Palace, showing two captives wearing 'a curious headdress like those worn by the old Jewish high-priests', which he proposed to bring home. Fortunately, this slab can now be identified by a rubbing which Rassam sent home.[17] It is BM 124793 (here pl. XXXIV) showing Ummanaldas, king of Elam, being transported as a prisoner to Assyria. Immediately before the end of his first season he found a water-course deep below the floor[18] in one of the rooms of Ashurbanipal's palace, built of reused moulded bricks, representing 'mystic figures'. These, he considered, were parts of a scheme of decoration dating from a time before stone reliefs were used in the palace. Two fragments were to be brought to England.

[1] His epitaph in the old Christian cemetery of Aleppo, originally created by the factors of the Levant Company, reads:

'To the memory/ of George Smith/ Assistant in the Department/ of Oriental Antiquities/ British Museum/ distinguished for his knowledge/ of the ancient languages/ and history of/ Babylonia and Assyria/ Born 26th March 1840/ died at Aleppo/ while on a scientific mission/ 19th August, 1876/ This slab has been placed/ by the Trustees of the/ British Museum/ in recognition of his merit/ and great services/ in the promotion of/ Biblical learning.'

[2] i.e. Çoban Bey.

[3] 31st August 1877. *L.P.* vol. LXXXIV. Add. MS 39014.

[4] *A.L.N.* p. 200.

[5] According to RASSAM, *A.L.N.* p. 304. For an account of the mosque see BUDGE, *By Nile and Tigris*, II, pp. 35–6. See also above, fig. 2 and pp. 1, 4, 26–7 below.

[6] *N.&B.* p. 598.

[7] LAYARD, *N.&B.* p. 598 abridged edition, 1867, introduction, p. xx. BUDGE, *op. cit.* II, p. 28, but Budge lists certain inscriptions as surviving.

[8] RASSAM, *A.L.N.* p. 297—see the whole of this chapter XV. Fifteen items from Nebi Yunus are quoted in a list of Rassam's finds reported to the Trustees on 7th October 1880, and are presumably those registered as 80–7–19, 312–326. They include four fragments of 'historical cylinders' and two other inscribed tablets.

[9] BM 93011. Illustrated here on pl. I, see below p. 35. E. D. VAN BUREN, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria*, 716, p. 150. RASSAM, 'Recent Assyrian and Babylonian Research', *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, Vol. XIV, 1880–81: 'I myself merely found some inscriptions and a terracotta tablet, unfortunately very much broken, on which is portrayed in relief an Assyrian monarch, either Sardanapalus, or Esarhaddon, his father, in close combat with a lion.'

[10] *A.L.N.* p. 208.

[11] *A.L.N.*, p. 221. This can only be the well-known 'Rassam Cylinder' (Rm 1). In a letter to Newton, Mosul, 6/4/78 (*T.P.*, *Assyrian Excavations*, Vol. 1, hereafter referred to as *T.P.A.E.*) he mentions finding an almost perfect clay cylinder of 1275 lines 19 in. high and 27 in. round between Chamber N and the North-West passage of Chamber K (XIV).

[12] In a letter to Layard (*L.P.* vol. XCIV = Add. MS. 39024), 22/12/78, he describes finding at Kuyunjik 'very few inscribed terracottas (i.e. tablets) and a "jam" (i.e., gem) of a round clay cylinder covered with beautiful small inscriptions, but in one of the pillars within a solid brick wall marked in your "Nineveh and Babylon" g+h, Chamber IX (I mean the pillar between entrances G and H). It is, I suppose, a record of Sennacherib's deeds'. A letter to Birch of 4th December 1879 (Departmental Correspondence) mentions this cylinder and encloses a rubbing of a second one, evidently that found by his nephew Nimrud Rassam, discovered in the small pillar at the entrance of Chamber VII of Plan I in LAYARD's *Nineveh and Babylon*. These are presumably BM 80–7–19, 1–2 (see note 10 on p. 24 below)

[13] Letter, RASSAM to Director, Mosul, 24/2/1878 (*T.P.A.E.*). *A.L.N.* p. 223. (In May 1878 the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum received some 46 Sassanian coins from Smith's and Rassam's excavations.)

[14] A collection dated 1878, reported to the Trustees as coming from Kuyunjik, contains 'historical prisms and cylinders of Assurbanipal, whole or broken, a piece of a synchronous history of Assyria and Babylonia, [Rm. 854] a tablet containing epigraphs for sculptured walls, consisting of 27 lines, syllabaries, mythological and astronomical texts and fragments of texts'. This is apparently the collection registered as R[assa]m 1–1030 (BEZOLD, *Catalogue*, . . . pp. 1570–1635). Another collection of 19th July reported to the Trustees on 24th July 1880 contained 'about 500 fragments of tablets and miscellaneous objects from the palaces of Sennacherib and Assur-bani-abla and from the mound of Nebbi Yunas. Among the tablets are several fragments of bilingual lists, throwing light on the meanings of Assyrian and Akkadian words; fragments of bilingual magical texts and legends (among the latter a small fragment of the exploits of Gisdhubar) [possibly 80–7–19, 305]; some very interesting Report tablets, and some fragments of historical cylinders. There are also three cylinders of Sennacherib, [80–7–19, 1–3 (the last was subsequently presented to the Sultan) see above, n. 12,] dated in the eponymy of Mitunu (700 B.C.), containing the history of the reign of Sennacherib up to that time. Among miscellaneous objects are some fragments of a delicately-sculptured winged and man-headed bull, some fragments of marble vases inscribed with the name of Assur-bani-abla [80–7–19, 212–215,] an Assyrian bronze helmet [= 22496] and some bronze and iron weapons and implements. There is also a bracelet of silver, of open work, set with stones, probably of a late period.' This is presumably the collection registered as 80–7–19, 1–374. But collections R[assa]m, 2, 1–606 (= BEZOLD, *Catalogue*, pp. 1636–87), 79–7–8, 1–354; 81–7–27, 82–5–22 and 83.1–18 also include tablets from Rassam's expeditions of 1878–9.

[15] *A.L.N.* p. 365.

[16] Mosul, 18/3/78 (*T.P.A.E.*).

[17] GADD, *S.A.*, p. 179, described it in detail but knew nothing of the circumstances of its discovery.

[18] RASSAM to LAYARD 5/5/78 *L.P.* vol. XL = Add MS. 39020. See also *A.L.N.* p. 222.

Other finds casually recorded in odd places are 'a perfectly made sheep's leg of cast copper, which must have belonged to a stool or table'.[1] It was found 'just behind a marble slab at the N.E. of Chamber XLIX'; an inscribed doorstone,[2] an inscribed column in black basalt with the name of Adad-nirari[3] and a 'copper socket' were found in the North Palace.[4] At the same time pieces of reliefs identifiable as fresh fragments of the scenes of the battle on the Ulai river,[5] from the Palace of Sennacherib, were discovered by Layard. Rassam considered these results disappointing; 'unfortunately', he says[6] 'we began work rather too late, and, as the workmen were mostly occupied in clearing the rubbish off the excavated chambers which Mr. Smith heaped up during his two expeditions, very few inscribed tablets have been found as yet in Sennacherib's palace or that of Assur-bani-pal's'. On 15th April[7] 1878, he writes that he is very disappointed with Kuyunjik, as they have found little for the expense they have gone to. Rassam accordingly transferred his centre of activities to Babylonia and, returning home in the summer of 1879, resigned from his appointment. The work was continued at Kuyunjik in a more or less desultory fashion under the direction of Nimrud Rassam, Hormuzd's nephew, under the general supervision of Col. Russell, the Consul at Mosul. Nimrud had found about 90 tablets by July 1878[8] in the palaces of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal. In addition, he is said to have found 'a sandstone platform at the northern end of Sennacherib's palace', where his uncle had left him to work. It was 'covered with inscriptions commemorating the building of a temple by Ashurbanipal at Kouyunjik';[9] soon afterwards he seems to have found a 'cylinder of Sennacherib of 95 (lines ?),[10] in the pillar around the same quadrangle where the first one was found.' The first was found by Rassam in 1878 in the pillar between the entrance (h) and (g) to Chamber IX, the second cylinder by his nephew in December 1879 in the small pillar at the entrance of Chamber VII of plan I in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*.

In June 1880 Rassam was again in the field on the Trustees' behalf, conducting simultaneous operations at Kuyunjik, Nebi Yunus, Abu Habbah and Van. At Kuyunjik, at a depth of 20 ft, a Greek statue was found inscribed ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ and signed ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ on January 1880[11]. On 19th July 1880, a very considerable collection consisting of nearly 500 tablets or fragments of the same was received from the Palaces of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal at Kuyunjik. In December 1881, a case was sent from Kuyunjik containing no less than 639 inscribed tablets and other objects. On 18th October 1882, he forwarded a quantity of material, including 91 inscribed tablets. From now on the emphasis was all on tablets.

BUDGE'S SEASONS

In 1888 the Trustees, disturbed by the quantity of antiquities from Iraq now being sold in the market, and for other better reasons,[12] decided to resume work in Iraq, and sent out E. A. W. Budge, a member of their staff, for the purpose of excavating at Kuyunjik for tablets. But by this time, the Turkish Government, advised by Hamdi Bey, the gifted Director of the Imperial Ottoman Museum, had drawn up more stringent regulations governing the activities of excavators. It was finally agreed that the excavations at Kuyunjik be reopened thanks to a personal approach to the Sultan. Budge travelled on to Mosul, paying a visit to the grave of the unhappy George Smith in the Aleppo Cemetery of the Levant Company on the way. By January 1889 Budge was at work at Kuyunjik, but as he says 'my task was a humble one, and consisted chiefly in searching through the débris in the palaces of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal and the heaps of earth outside them'. The useful result was the finding of about 590 tablets, and of further fragments of the Kuyunjik library overlooked by his predecessors. He continued till 1891. The following year he was involved in a distressing lawsuit with Rassam for slander, in which he lost the case; but except for the curiously antiquated attitudes it brought to light in interpretation of the Trustees' rights over the sites in which they held permits to excavate, and the lasting bitterness the lawsuit evoked, it need not detain us more.

L. W. KING AND THE BEGINNING OF SYSTEMATIC SEARCH AT KUYUNJIK

In 1901, L. W. King, then an Assistant, 2nd Class, and a highly qualified specialist in cuneiform in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, visited Mesopotamia at his own expense, to report once more to the Trustees on the feasibility of resuming work at Kuyunjik[13]. He reached Mosul on 21st October, examined the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus and Khorsabad, and visited in the next few weeks, travelling by *kelek*, Nimrud and Kalah Shergat (Ashur), while from Nimrud he made an excursion to Balawat. By 3rd January 1902, he was back in London, to report that at Kuyunjik it was still possible to trace the outlines of the two palaces, though their rooms were filled in, largely by the earlier excavators and the action of weather and of the cultivators of the mound. The Palace of Sennacherib appeared the more thoroughly excavated of the two, and only merited further work on its northern side. The North Palace was less promising, as more shafts and tunnels had been used there in excavating it, yet only a small part of it was as yet recovered, but the rest of the library of Ashurbanipal might still lie hidden there. Large tracts on the west and east sides of the mound were unexplored, and somewhere in this area the great temple of the goddess Ishtar, known from textual references, might lie. Deeper levels had never even been sounded. (This is the first indication on anyone's part that there might be such a concept as stratigraphy of some sort—or, shall we say, a sequence of habitation levels—to be considered—at a date when Dörpfeld[14] was bringing order into Schliemann's discoveries at Troy). King also reported that the 'winged bull [at the entrance] of the Palace of Sennacherib had been burnt down for lime. Future excavators must no longer fill in the excavated palace-rooms with their dumps, but throw them clear of buildings.' He recommended that operations might be undertaken by the Trustees lasting for two or three years.[15]

Before 1902 was out, King was at Stamboul, seeking a *firman* on behalf of the Trustees who approved the plan for 'settling once for all the problem of the mound of Kouyunjik'—so that even negative results should be satisfactory, yet great finds more pleasant. They rejected plans for cleaning the west side of Sennacherib's Palace and having the outermost wall pursued, but ordered the walls on the east side and those on the south-west of the Great Court to be cleared, and the mound to be thoroughly explored by deep trenches to a depth of 40–50 ft.[16]

The spectacle of the Director and Trustees closely scanning the operations like a War Office General Staff from so great a distance sounds a little absurd today, but there were unhappy memories still present of too many costly mistakes made by leaving too much to inexperienced departmental officers in the past. King set to work in May, reopened many rooms, but reported[17] sadly that the sculptured slabs he had uncovered were so cracked by fire, that he could only advise that they be covered up again to prevent their surfaces disintegrating under the sun's heat and weather effects when exposed.[18] Tablets were soon forthcoming, over two hundred, especially in Rooms I, XXVIII and XXX, though many were rather small, but including one precious new fragment of the 'Gilgamesh Epic'. By 10th July he had cleared a considerable area on the west side of the palace down to 'platform level' and had discovered in the main entrance a second bull colossus and a colossal figure of 'Gilgamesh struggling with a lion', both fallen flat on the ground on their

[1] RASSAM to NEWTON, Mosul, 6/4/78 (*T.P.A.E.*). The object is almost certainly BM 92512, a large bronze tripod-leg (unpublished).

[2] The same, *ibid.*, 10/5/78. Probably identical with a basalt gate socket bearing the name of Sennacherib, BM 90871/2, reported to Trustees as coming from Kuyunjik, 9/5/81.

[3] BM 90853. ht. 15½ in. × 5 in. Published by WINCKLER, *Z.A.* II, p. 311; BUDGE & KING, *A.K.A.* p. 154.

[4] RASSAM to BOND, *ibid.*, 23/2/79.

[5] Fragments which Dr. Birch reported to the Trustees on 9/3/81 as coming from Kuyunjik. They appear to be identifiable with fragments in the British Museum from Room XXXIII.

[6] RASSAM to BIRCH, Mosul, 3/3/78 (W.A.A. Departmental Correspondence).

[7] RASSAM to BIRCH, Mosul, 15/4/78 (W.A.A. Departmental Correspondence).

[8] RASSAM to BIRCH, Isleworth, 24/8/78 (W.A.A. Departmental Correspondence).

[9] RASSAM to LAYARD, Isleworth, 13/8/79 (*L.P.* vol. XCVIII = Add. MS. 39028). Presumably inscribed bricks of Ashurbanipal were uncommon in Sennacherib's Palace.

[10] BIRCH to LAYARD, 1/12/79. (*L.P.* Add. MS. 39030). Apparently one of the three cylinders 80–7–19, 1–3. See also a letter from LAYARD to BIRCH, written from Therapia 24/11/79 (Departmental Correspondence) saying that Nimrud Rassam found the Sennacherib Cylinder of 95 lines *in Sennacherib's Palace* 'the day before yesterday' i.e. 22/11/79. See also p. 23 n. 11 on these cylinders [C.B.F.W.].

[11] Now G. & R. Dept., no. 1881-7-1-1; (Statue of Herakles, ht. 1 ft. 9 in; described by A. H. SMITH, *Cat. of Sculpture in the G. & R. Dept.* III (1904) 1726.)

[12] BUDGE, *B.N.T.* II, pp. 22 ff. 'As a result of the intensive study of the Kouyunjik tablets that went on among Assyriologists all over the world between 1872 & 1887 there was a demand for a further examination of the mound of Kouyunjik.'

[13] THOMPSON, *C.E.N.* p. 59—(a strangely entitled work, unless it be held that eighty-nine years can make a century!). The above campaigns of 1901–3 are described there in some detail, the authors then taking up the thread of the narrative from 1903 onwards till 1928, but then only in a somewhat involved and confusing form.

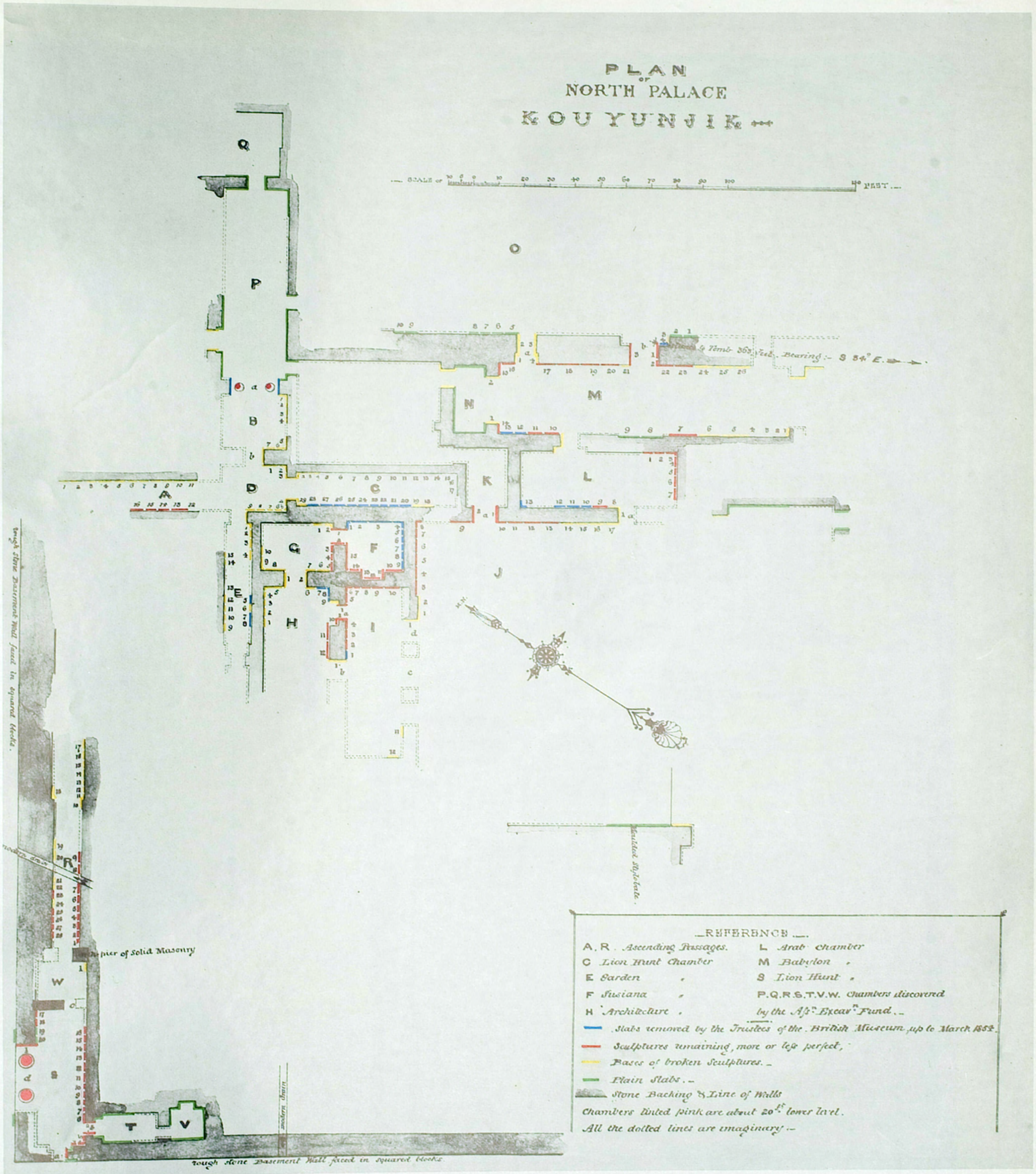
[14] DÖRPFELD, *Troja und Ilion* (1902).

[15] L. W. KING, 'Report on a journey to the various sites of excavations in Assyria and Babylonia during the autumn of 1901' (Dept. of W.A.A. MS.).

[16] Director to KING, London, 24/6/03. *T.P.* Kouyunjik Excavations.

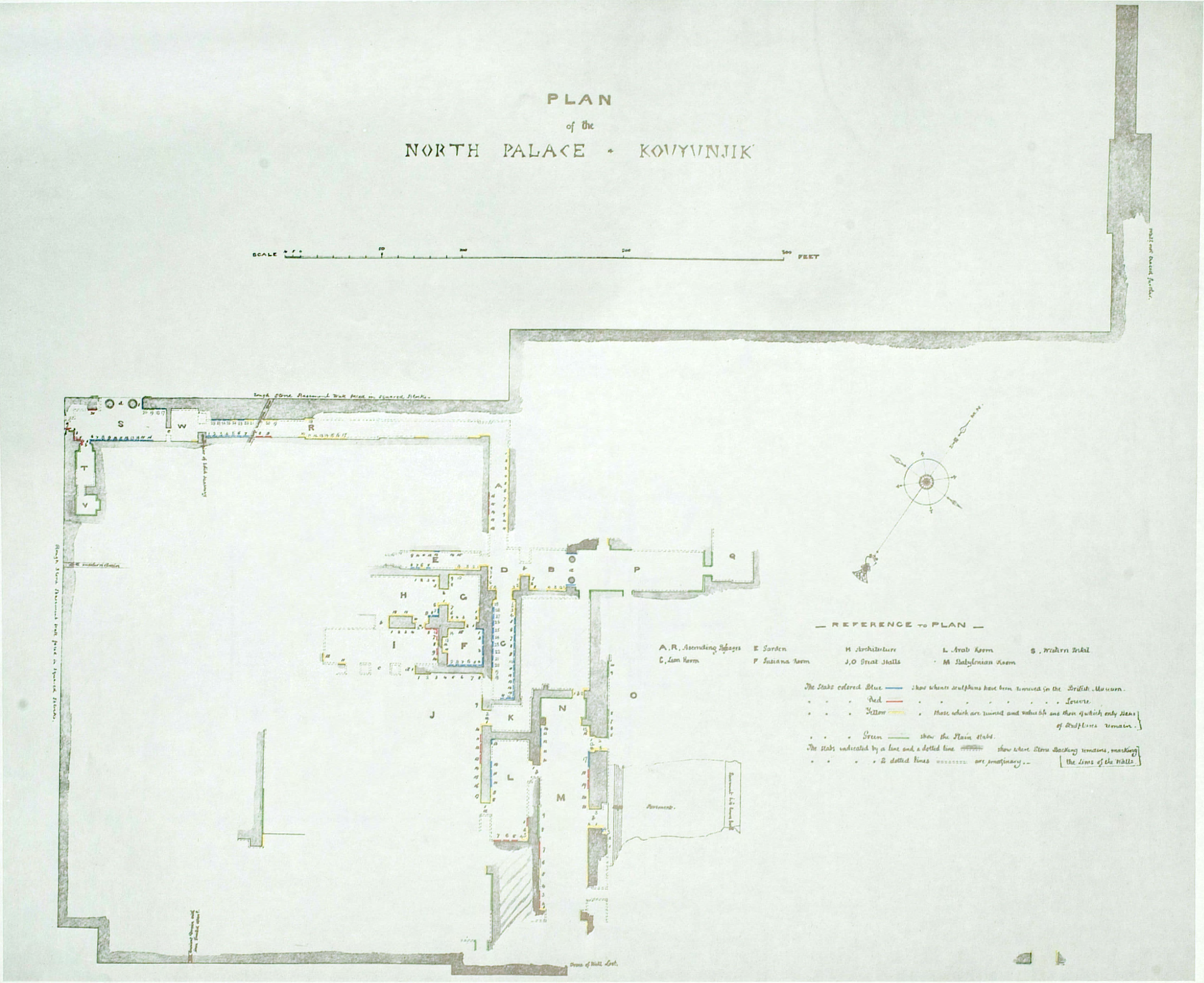
[17] KING to Director, 12/6/03. *ibid.*

[18] THOMPSON, *C.E.N.* p. 60, indicates that this was Room V.



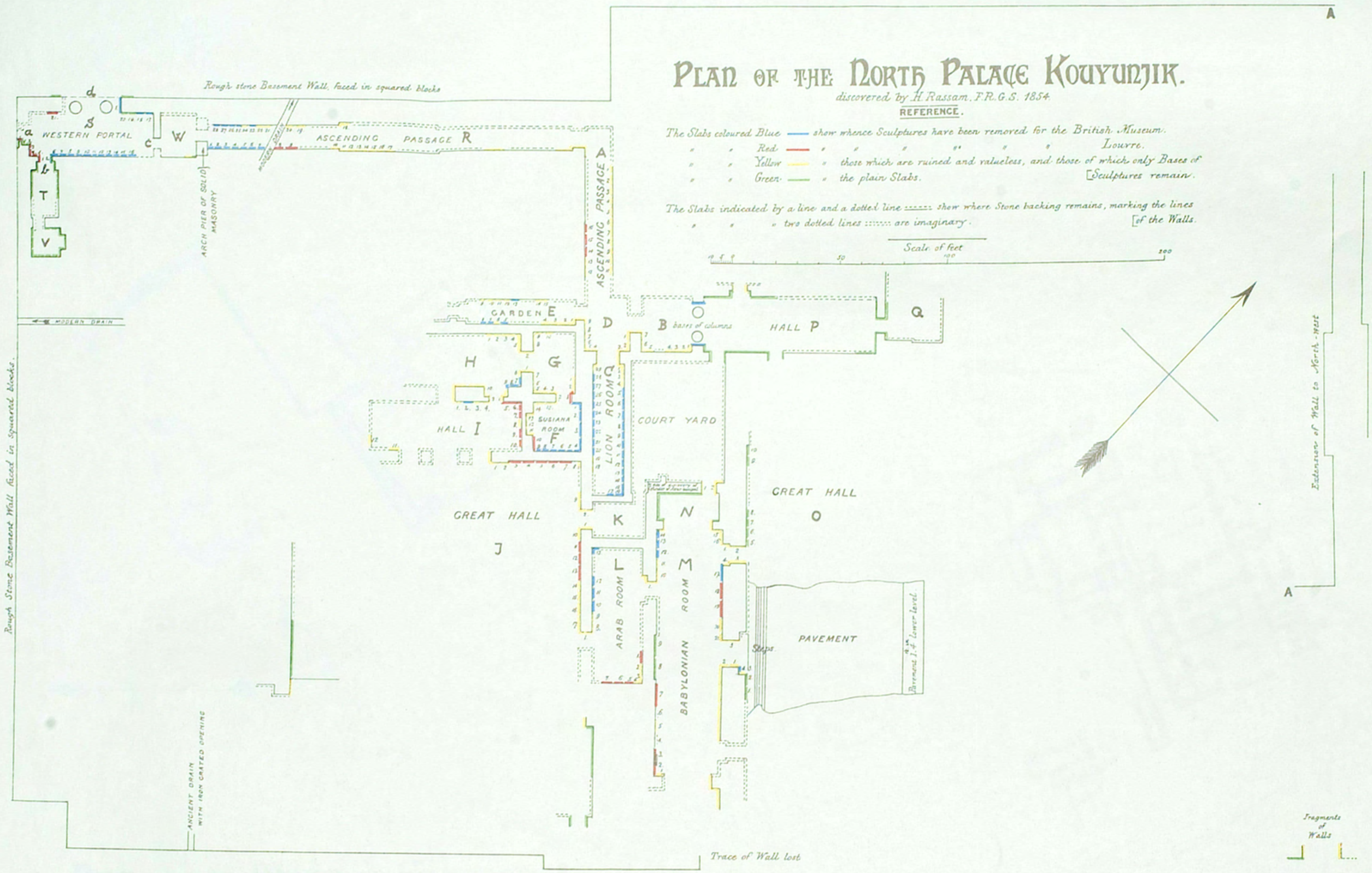
Boutcher's first plan of the North Palace

TEXT-PLATE 6



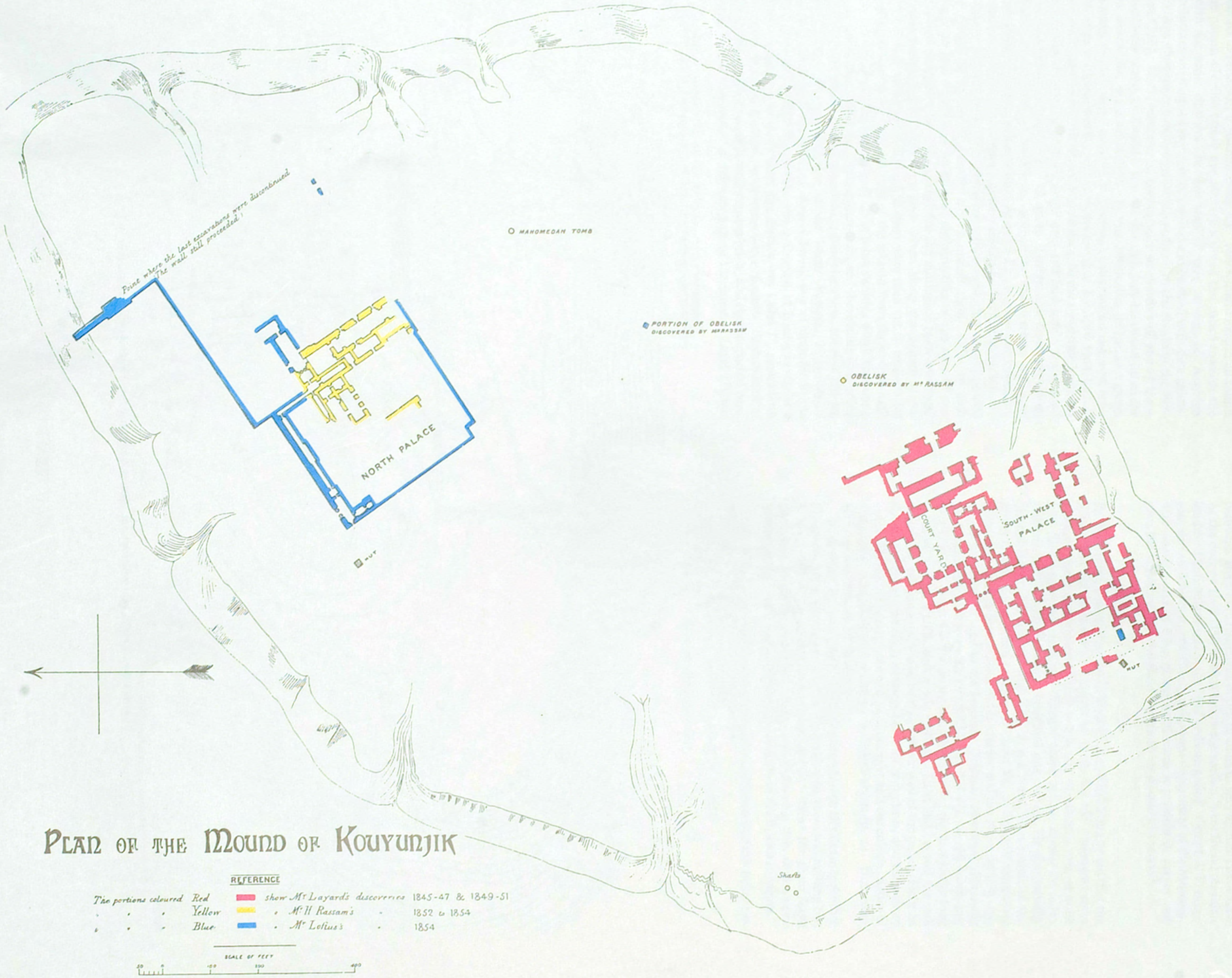
Add. MS. 21258C. Boutcher's second plan of the North Palace (1856)

TEXT-PLATE 7



Boutcher's third plan of the North Palace

TEXT-PLATE 8



Add. MS. 21258B. Loftus' plan of Kuyunjik showing the North and South-West Palaces

TEXT-PLATE 9

faces.[1] The main entrance was fronted on the west side, where the Tigris used to flow, by a terrace 30 ft wide, paved with four layers of mud brick bedded in bitumen; it seemed likely this terrace might extend all round the palace. He also traced the exterior walls of the palace towards the north for some distance. In this wall(?) were remains of 'Assyrian sculptures showing sea surrounded by flat land covered with date palms, perhaps illustrating a campaign of Sennacherib to the shores of the Persian Gulf'.[2] Unfortunately, no photographs or sketches of any of these finds were made, or if made, survive. On 18th July he closed down for the season and withdrew to Van. On 18th September he had two gangs at work on the palace engaged in clearing operations on the west side, the other finishing clearing a room on the east side. By April 1903, he had 300 men employed in the South-West Palace. At the same time he began the systematic placing of rows of 52 deep pits laid across the mound and sunk to an average depth of 40 ft. The results were surprising, producing 'remains of buildings, pavements and terraces not only dating from the time of the Second Assyrian Empire, but also belonging to earlier periods. The different strata were carefully noted and when any Assyrian remains or layers of débris were discovered, they were examined by means of horizontal tunnels driven out at right angles to each shaft. In this way a general idea of the structure of the mound was obtained and the sites were settled for the cutting of open trenches.' Three descending tunnels were also driven along the eastern slope. 'Three large trenches 30 ft to 36 ft deep were then cut in sections for 200 yards across the Western part of the mound from the central high ground to the edge of the mound; three more running north and south were cut in the central and south-eastern part, and three more in running east and west in the north-east section, others elsewhere, some of zig-zag form across the supposed site of the Ishtar Temple. These shafts disclosed the existence of three distinct levels, one of unburnt bricks 12 ft thick at the top: below this, was a stratum of beaten earth; at a depth of another 25–30 ft from the surface was Level II, paved with burnt bricks set in bitumen, with many water channels. Foundations of a building, perhaps a temple with painted bricks and tiles, occurred here. Level II was also found in the west part of the mound. Level III was met at *minus* 36 to 40 ft, and disclosed a containing wall made of rough hewn stone, in some parts 8 ft high, which supported a raised terrace or platform. Here were fragments of inscriptions in very archaic characters. At the deepest level (IV) at 68 ft below the surface, were found obsidian blades.' The timely arrival of the bluff and energetic R. Campbell Thompson, also an Assistant, 2nd Class, in the same department of the Museum, who was to succeed King in the field, made it possible to survey and plan the whole mound and the excavations on a scale of 1:1000.[3]

* * *

In the Great Court of the South-West Palace (XIX) King found that the débris had accumulated to a depth of 35 ft, but the sculptured slabs around it were now preserved only to a height of a foot or two, or quite lost. The courtyard contained charred cedar beams, masses of fallen unburnt brick, burnt bricks and inscribed gate sockets. He also partially cleared Rooms XVI, XVII and XLV at the North-East corner of the Great Court, Room V and a corner of Court VI. In Room V were three slabs representing Sennacherib in his chariot and the storming of a city, which he hoped to send to the Imperial Ottoman Museum.[4] He made trial trenches into Rooms XXIV, XXVI and XXVII, on the south-east corner of the Great Court: on the west he also dug the end of the long room or passage XLIX, and in LI, LIII and LIV, and beyond the wall which Layard had assumed to be the exterior wall of the palace. Here he found the true outer wall, ornamented with sculptures, and the pair of colossal bulls belonging to one of its doorways[5] and the colossal figure of Gilgamesh struggling with a lion as described above (p. 24). Unfortunately no illustrations of them survive.

In the North Palace of Ashurbanipal he trenched on all sides to seek other chambers previously unknown. On the north side, there was nothing but a later building, probably a Parthian temple.[6] 'Near the main large pavement he discovered a beautifully carved flooring slab, of the same pattern as that exhibited in the Assyrian Saloon of the British Museum.'[7]

[1] They appear to be unrecorded, not drawn and never photographed.
[2] KING to BUDGE, Mosul 10/7/03 W.A.A. Departmental Correspondence.
[3] MS. 'Report on the progress of Excavations at Kouyunjik from May 12th 1903 to June 21st 1904' (*T.P.* Kouyunjik Excavations, 1902–5).
[4] KING to Director, Mosul, 2/4/03. (*ibid.*)
[5] THOMPSON, *C.E.N.* p. 60, n. 1. KING to Director, 10/7/03. (*ibid.*)
[6] 'Report . . .', p. 6.
[7] THOMPSON, *C.E.N.*, p. 61. No photograph exists.

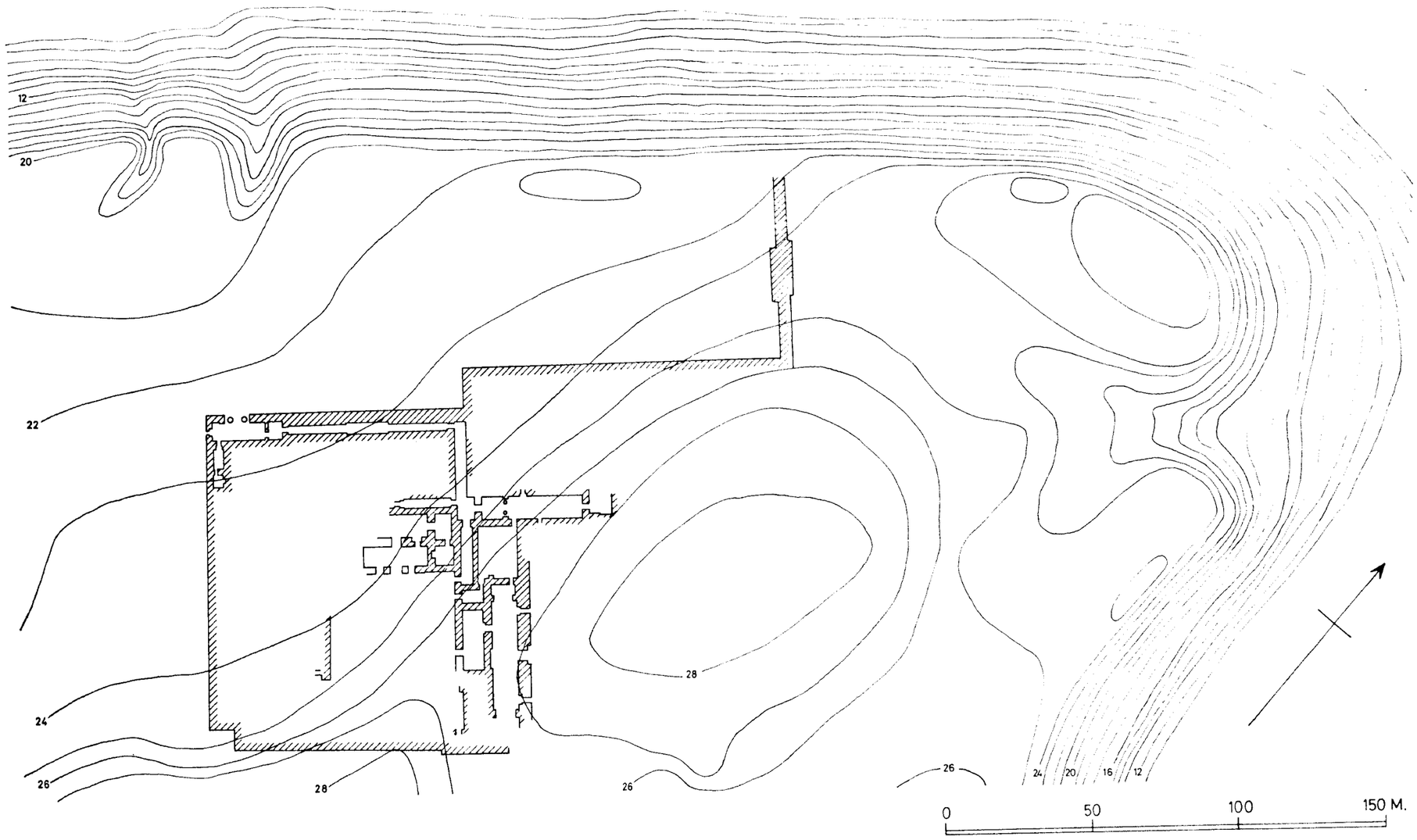


Fig. 6. Sketch contour-plan of north corner of Kuyunjik, incorporating plan of the North Palace

A plan slightly more complete than those hitherto available was published[1] giving the true limits of the palace complex on the north-west and south-east (fig. 6).

Towards the centre (north) of the mound were found remains of a palace of Ashurnasirpal, buried 23 to 25 ft below the ground level,[2] containing small pieces of sculpture depicting the king hunting lions and perhaps incorporating an earlier palace of his father, Tukulti-Ninurta II. South of it lay the Temple of Ishtar, going back into Levels II and possibly III; to the centre, the Temple of Nabu, just south of the central ridge, its presence authenticated by a dedicatory inscription,[3] and at the eastern edge of the mound facing the river Khosr, the *bīt nakkapti* of Sennacherib, in a state of ruin.[4] This was a house apparently built by the king for his son Ashur-shum-ushabshi.

A well, lined with burnt bricks of Sargon, also proclaimed the presence of the Temple of Nabu; it was dug down 100 ft to water level. The inner courtyard of the Temple was cleared and found partly paved but the complete excavation of the Temple of Nabu was abandoned in 1904–5, unfinished.[5]

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON'S RETURN

In 1927, Campbell Thompson was invited to return to the field with the assistance of R. W. Hutchinson.[6] The inner rectangle of the Temple of Nabu was then reopened and found to cover 103 × 78 ft, being correctly orientated, like Sumerian buildings and Sargon's palace at Khorsabad, with the corners set to the cardinal points of the compass. Within this rectangle was the open court, but the walls around it were too destroyed to be recognized except for a single pavement, 17 × 11 ft, towards the south of the south-east side, containing bricks dedicated by Sargon. There were, however, traces of an earlier restoration by Adad-nirari III in 788 B.C. There were also restorations of Ashurbanipal, who had built a fine pavement 200 ft long, 15 ft wide, before the south-east front of the Temple. It was perhaps a roadway. Just beneath it on the west was a sculpture illustrating Sennacherib's campaign against Marsh Arabs, and the capture of a city called Ki-in . . . (the rest lost).[7] The library of the Temple was, however, not to be found, having long ago been robbed or removed. There was a gateway in each side, that on the north-east still retaining its threshold slab. All had apparently been destroyed, along with the rest of Nineveh, in 612 B.C.[8]

The question of the circuit walls of Nineveh forming an immense rectangle was also taken up and revised (see fig. 2)[9]. As a result of the study of inscriptions it was possible to identify the city gates as follows:

(A) *on the 'south and east'*, Gates of (a) Ashur; (b) Ḫalzi (less positively); (c) Shamash, originally excavated by Layard;[10] (d) Ninlil, south of the Khosr; (e) Mushlalu (possibly connected with the dam at Ajilah); (f) Shibaniba; (g) Ḫalaḫḫi.

(B) *on the north*, those of (h) Adad; (i) Nergal (also excavated by Layard[11]) leading to Tarbiṣu; (j) Sin.

(C) *on the west* the gates (k) of the Watering Places; (l) the Quay; (m) the Desert; (n) the Armoury; (o) the Ḫanduri.

Thompson also identified a long stretch of stone wall crossing the river Khosr 2 miles north of Kuyunjik, in the 'Ajilah gorge, as one of Sennacherib's main reservoirs, called by him the *agammu* pool. He also found many cuneiform tablets.

The next season of 1929–30 conducted by Thompson and Hutchinson at Nineveh was concentrated on the area of the Palace of Ashurnasirpal, begun by Tiglath-pileser I and completed by Adad-nirari.[12] This was a modest affair, built of burnt brick decorated with coloured bricks, and consisting of some ten rooms. The foundation of the Temple of Ishtar was found on the crest of a slope and partly cleared, and from its association with an inscription of Manishtusu, King of Agade, the excavators dated it about 2500 B.C. It was much restored by Ashurnasirpal. Much prehistoric pottery was also found in Trenches G and H at a depth of 32–42 ft and was assigned by the excavators to a date between 3500 and 2500 B.C., thereby indicating a growing interest in this topic of prehistoric pottery, which was to bear fruit in the following and final season.

A further season, 1930–1, conducted by Thompson at Nineveh, assisted by R. W. Hamilton with the financial support of Sir Charles Hyde, resulted in the discovery of the Temple of Ishtar first sought or approached by Rassam in 1853.[13] Though this work was not completed till the following season, it is (somewhat irrationally) included in Thompson's account of the season of 1930–1, while the excavations of the prehistoric levels, actually begun in 1930–1 were held back to be described by Mallowan in the report of the next season.[14] It was confirmed by pottery finds that the Temple had been founded by Manishtusu and restored by Shamshi-Adad I, *c.* 1800 B.C. Thompson traces its history through the Kassite and post-Kassite period to its rebuilding under Shamshi-Adad IV, *c.* 1000 B.C., Ashur-resh-ishi, and Ashurbanipal, down to its final destruction in 612 B.C.

Amongst the architectural remains were a series of large vaulted graves of brick with blocked doorways, unfortunately pillaged in antiquity, but probably belonging to the Sumerian period, worthy of comparison with those of the IIIrd dynasty at Ur in their proportions.

In the course of this operation was found the finest single object to emerge from Nineveh, the noble portrait head in copper, now thought to represent Sargon I of Agade, and recognized by Thompson as a royal portrait of early, possibly Sumerian, date, possibly carried off by Ashurbanipal from Elam, and by the Elamites from Babylonia. It was, however, quite inadequately published by the finder, and it was left to Mallowan to illustrate it worthily after it had been cleaned and to recognize it as a portrait of Sargon I.[15]

Other notable finds included an alabaster vessel supported by lions, and a fine bronze helmet, of Sassanian date, though apparently not so recognized by the finder.[16]

Unfortunately, these campaigns received only somewhat summary publication at Campbell Thompson's hands,[17] as he was usually content to illustrate his excavations by means of plans, never of section drawings, and his finds were illustrated only by minute photographs or somewhat unprofessional and much reduced outline drawings, pride of place being given only to inscriptions. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that he laboured hard at the very heavy task of excavating Nineveh and his contributions to the knowledge of it, especially those made in his latter seasons when assisted by his very competent associates, were of no mean order and compared favourably with many other Mesopotamian excavators of his day.[18]

THE DEEP SHAFT

The final chapter in the British excavations at Nineveh was yet to be written by its veteran excavator, Thompson, in the season of 1931–2, this time vigorously assisted by the disciple of a more modern school, M. E. L. Mallowan, who in the later twenties had been the trusted and zealous assistant of Sir Leonard Woolley in his epoch-making discoveries at Ur, and had observed all that was to be learnt of his flair and techniques. The avowed object was to complete the excavations of the elusive Temple of Ishtar and 'in addition to obtain a complete series of the prehistoric strata'. At last modern stratigraphy had come into its own on the oldest site of excavation in Mesopotamia. This was the task of Mallowan. In addition, four test pits to the north-west of Sennacherib's palace were made, which showed evidence of its further extension westwards.[19] A building on the flats below Kuyunjik was also explored in the course of these operations. The important results included many new inscriptions, including a very long and valuable text of Ashurbanipal

[1] *Ibid.* plan 5.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 80–3.
[3] THOMPSON, *E.T.N.N.* pp. 133–4.
[4] THOMPSON, *C.E.N.* p. 64. For its plan, see THOMPSON, *L.A.A.A.*[2] pl. CVL.
[5] BUDGE, *Rise and Progress of Assyriology* (1925), p. 143, is at pains to rebut a charge by Messrs. Breasted and Luckenbill that no 'scientific digging' had been done at Kuyunjik. In fact, King and Thompson's work left much to be desired but it was a great improvement on that of their predecessors. As, however, nothing of King and Thompson's excavation had ever been published, small wonder if, in ignorance of it, others spoke slightingly of the work which had been done there—as it was presumed—by their predecessors!
[6] See THOMPSON, *C.E.N.* pp. 72–88; *E.T.N.N.* p. 104.
[7] THOMPSON, *E.T.N.N.*, pl. LVIII, 6.
[8] THOMPSON, *E.T.N.N.*, pl. LXIII.
[9] *E.T.N.N.* pp. 111–3. See also above, p. 2.
[10] *N.&B.* p. 123.
[11] *N.&B.* p. 120.
[12] According to G. R. DRIVER, 'Reginald Campbell Thompson 1876–1941', *Proc. Brit. Acad.* Vol. XXX, p. 27 (which deserves consultation as an excellent appreciation of Thompson's life and work), the actual palace was not found, the brick building being some other structure. Driver notes, however, that Thompson also penetrated into 3rd millennium levels, for there were also found 10,000 Early Dynastic beads and a number of amulets now paralleled from deposits in the square temple at Tel Asmar; he also found many fragments of cuneiform tablets of the Assyrian period, and pottery of all periods.
[13] THOMPSON, *L.A.A.A.*[1], pp. 55–116. See pp. 9, 22.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 72, and pl. L, 1.2.
[15] 'The Bronze Head from the Akkadian Period from Nineveh', *Iraq*, III (1936), pp. 4–10 10, pls. V–VII.
[16] THOMPSON, *L.A.A.A.*[2], pl. LI, 3, 4.
[17] THOMPSON, *L.A.A.A.*[3], pp. 80–2.
[18] A summarizing article by THOMPSON entitled 'The Buildings on Quyunjiq, the larger Mound of Nineveh', *Iraq*, I (1934), pp. 95–104, provides a useful plan of the mound and a general account.
[19] THOMPSON, *L.A.A.A.*[2], pp. 72 and 73, pl. CVI.

from the Temple of Ishtar, 185 lines long. Mallowan's great task, however, was the sinking of a great shaft 60 × 50 ft abutting on the north-west side of the Ishtar Temple down to virgin soil, digging through no less than 90 ft (27½ m) of débris. It resulted in the establishment on secure grounds going far beyond the tentative work of King in 1903 or indeed of any other digger in Mesopotamia, of five main sequences or strata, named Ninevite I–V, counting upwards from the bottom, the lowest prehistoric level of which (Ninevite I) belonged to the earlier half of the 3rd millenium B.C., while Ninevite II about 60 ft below the Assyrian level included Samarra and Tell Halaf pottery and Sakca-gözü wares.

Ninevite IV was shown to contain ware of the Jemdet Nasr period, found at Ur in South Mesopotamia, enabling many other correlations to be made, while Ninevite V was assigned to the first half of the 3rd millenium B.C. In other words, four-fifths of the great mound of Nineveh had been shown to be not Assyrian but prehistoric, while at the same time a more accurate time-scale for the early protohistory of Northern Mesopotamia was provided than anywhere existed, though Warka and Ur had yielded archaic sequences. A similar deep sondage at Tell Chagar Bazar in North-East Syria under Mallowan's direction in 1935 confirmed this work at Nineveh, and fruitful exavations of a rich Tell Halaf period settlement at Arpachiyah disclosed the wealth and importance of this early culture.

Work renewed by the Department of Antiquities of Iraq

With this, the tale of the excavations at Nineveh is almost done; but clearance work by the Iraq Department of Antiquities in Nebi Yunus,[1] in Esarhaddon's Palace and at the Shamash Gate has been a valuable step towards preservation and in some cases enlarging what still remains of the mound's many monuments and in 1955 the decision was taken to rebuild the Nergal Gate as a museum.[2]

Concerning these operations by the Department of Antiquities of Iraq, we learn from brief preliminary reports[3] that owing to the threatening encroachments of modern housebuilding and housing schemes, excavations were reopened by Dr. Tariq Madhloom in 1966 on a high mound (255 m above sea level, Kuyunjik being only 251 m) on the eastern side of the city fortification overlooking the road to Erbil. This site, once opened by Layard[4] and Rassam, proved to be the Shamash Gate, built by Sennacherib, the façade of which was crowned by six turrets on the eastern side and eight on the west.[5]

In the Palace of Sennacherib the 'Throne Hall' (evidently that entitled the Great Hall or B, sometimes Hall I by Layard), was reopened; and restoration work began on the bull colossi facing the large courtyard. Reliefs about 2 m high, reported to illustrate campaigns of Sennacherib against Lachish and other cities, were discovered.[6]

Excavation was renewed in the following year (1967) on the Shamash Gate and a large section of the fortification wall (of the city?) was cleared exposing towers at intervals of 25 m. Work was also begun at the Ḫalzi and Adad Gates and in 1967–8 extended to the Sin and Mashqi Gates.[7] In 1967 operations were again continued at the Shamash Gate, and opened at the Nergal Gate. In the Palace, a beginning was made of protecting the Throne Room and its surviving reliefs by roofing over the hall.[8] In the Throne Room of Sennacherib's Palace work was concentrated on the western part, yielding reliefs depicting battle scenes, captives and warriors and disclosing a new doorway in the middle of the western wall of the Hall (presumably leading into Room V). Ample evidence was found in 1967–8 that this Palace and Throne Room were restored by Ashurbanipal. A small room was also discovered on the southern side of the hall, decorated with reliefs on the walls, the floor being paved with stone slabs.

* * *

NOTE ON BOUTCHER'S PLANS OF THE NORTH PALACE, AND OTHER PLANS OF THE MOUND

There are in fact no less than four plans of the North Palace which may be attributed directly or ultimately to Boutcher (here designated Plan 1, Plan 2, Plan 3 (and reproduced as text-plates 7, 8 and 9) and Plan 4).

1. The first (Or. Dr. VII, fig. 40, original in grey, red and blue wash on whitish paper (size 20½ in × 15 in). Being originally preserved in the Assyrian Excavation Fund's portfolio in the Royal Asiatic Society till 1964, this plan, here published for the first time, is probably the earliest of all. It is turned with north-east at the top. In this plan, those slabs assigned to the British Museum up to March 1854 are marked *blue*, those more or less perfect are *red*, if broken, *yellow*, if plain, *green*. No sculpture is yet marked as assigned to the Louvre. Rooms P, Q, R, S, T, V, W are clearly designated as discovered by the Assyrian Excavation Fund. (Here reproduced as text-plate 7.)
2. The second plan (Add. MS. 21258C), coloured and similar to last, is preserved in Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum; it is 20¾ in × 26¾ in and is dated 1856. In addition to showing the slabs assigned to the British Museum (marked *blue*) it also shows those assigned to the Louvre (marked *red*). It shows more of the Central Court J (now called O) including steps leading to a broad pavement 1 ft 4 in lower down. By this time, some slabs marked *red* ('more or less perfect') in Plan 1 are downgraded to *yellow*, viz. 'ruined and valueless', e.g. entrance K, Room L, Slabs 3–4, buttresses between G/F 11/1. The external walls have been further pursued and the plan is turned with the north-west at the top. Reproduced (in monochrome) at the end of GADD, *S.A.*, as Plan II; here text-plate 8.
3. The third plan is a version of the second, differing mainly in having the names of the Rooms ('Susiana', 'Lion Hunt', 'Ascending Passage', etc.) inserted as well as the letters, previously alone used. The original, if different from Plan 2, is lost. It was published by RASSAM in *T.S.B.A.* 7 (1882), part 1, opp. p. 40 and reproduced in slightly larger scale by MEISSNER & OPITZ; here text-plate 9.
4. The fourth version, reproduced also in colour, is in RASSAM, *A.L.N.* between pp. 36 and 38, where the letters assigned to the Rooms have been omitted, leaving only their names. Again, the original is lost. In this map certain slabs marked in Map 3 as *green*, i.e. plain, are shown erroneously as *blue* (i.e. assigned to the British Museum) probably by a printing error.
5. There is a general plan of the mound by Boutcher: entitled 'Plan of the Mound of Kouyunjik, Assyria, by W.K. Loftus *F.G.S.* 1855.' It shows both palaces, and marks in *red* Layard's discoveries, *yellow* those of Rassam, *blue* those of Loftus. It is preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum as Add. MS 21258 B. Size 24 in × 37½ in; here text-plate 10. It reappears in RASSAM, *A.L.N.* opp. p. 8 without the ascription to Loftus, but with the dates of excavations referred to, i.e. Layard's 1845–7, and 1849–51; Rassam's 1852–4, Loftus's 1854. Another version of it, also without Loftus's name, will be found in Rassam's report of 1879 in *T.S.B.A.* 7 (1882), part 1, opp. p. 36.
6. There also exist general plans of the mound by King and Thompson, THOMPSON, *C.E.N.*, plans 1 and 2: and *idem*, *Iraq* I (1934) p. 97, fig. 1.

[1] I. E. S. EDWARDS, *Sumer* XI (1955), p. 129. W. K. SIMPSON, *ibid.*, pp. 131–2. E. W[EIDNER] *A.f.O.* XVII (1955–6), p. 424; XVIII (1957–8), p. 177 and fig. 12. A. HEIDEL and A. L. OPPENHEIM, *Sumer* XII (1956), pp. 9–37; V. VIKENTIEV *op. cit.* pp. 76–9. The chief finds were three statues of Pharaohs, a bronze figure of the goddess Anukis inlaid with gold, and a prism of Esarhaddon. For Nebi Yunus identified as the *ekal mašarti* of Nineveh, see G. TURNER *Iraq*, XXXII (1970), pp. 68–85.

[2] *Sumer* XII (1955), p. 6; *A.f.O.* XVIII, p. 178.

[3] FAISAL EL-WAILLY, *Sumer*, XXI, 1/2 (1965), pp. 4–5; XXII (1966), pp. b–c.

[4] *N.&B.* II, pp. 656–7 ff.

[5] For details see account refered to in note 4.

[6] Two are illustrated in the Arabic version of the Director-General's report (*Sumer*, XXI 1/2 (1965) as figs. 3 and 4 while fig. 1 shows the Shamash Gate.

[7] T. MADHLOOM, 'Nineveh. The 1967–8 Campaign', *Sumer* XXIV (1968), p. 45.

[8] T. MADHLOOM 'Excavations at Nineveh: a preliminary report (1965–1967)', *Sumer*, XXIII (1967), pp. 77–79, pls. I–XIII.

NOTES ON THE ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS OF THE NORTH PALACE BY GEOFFREY TURNER

The excavation of Ashurbanipal's North Palace on Kuyunjik was principally the work of Rassam and Loftus, and although later investigations have been made on a number of occasions, little of significance has been added to our knowledge of this site. The primary object of both Rassam and Loftus was to examine that part of the building which yielded finely carved orthostats. At the same time they depended upon the discovery of such stonework to enable them to follow the line of the walls, not yet having mastered the difficult technique of tracing mud-brick walling. Thus our knowledge of the North Palace is restricted to that part of the building which was decorated with reliefs, namely the more important chambers or state apartments. Of those rooms in which the orthostats were badly decayed or completely lost, the plan is fragmentary and much restored.

A description is here given of those parts of the North Palace which have been excavated, and an attempt is made to explain the original function of the various chambers. In fig. 7 there is shown a free reconstruction of the plan based on comparative material; and although this is purely hypothetical and doubtless will be proved incorrect in many details if ever this site is more fully excavated, it is nevertheless hoped that it will help to elucidate the following account and also to explain the probable relationship of those parts of the building which have been excavated with the rest of the palace complex. Fortunately our knowledge of Late Assyrian palace architecture is quite extensive, such buildings having been excavated at Ashur, Nimrud, Khorsabad, Arslan Tash and Til Barsib as well as at Nineveh. In the planning of all these it is possible to observe certain features in common, and these architectural rules[1] can thus be utilized in our interpretation of the plans of those palaces which have only been incompletely excavated, such as the North Palace. In each Late Assyrian palace there were two distinct units; the outer and larger sector containing the more public accommodation, such as the service area, storerooms, offices and stables, etc.; and an inner, more private sector consisting of a series of reception suites, probably for the most part residential in character. These sectors, which are sometimes

[1] These have been formulated by Gordon Loud based on his excavations at Khorsabad (*R.A.* 33 (1936), pp. 153–60 and repeated in G. LOUD and C. B. ALTMAN, *Khorsabad II. The citadel and the town* (*O.I.P.* XL), pp. 10–13), but nevertheless are equally applicable to palaces which have been discovered at other Late Assyrian sites. See also G. TURNER 'The State Apartments of Late Assyrian Palaces', *Iraq* XXXII (1970), pp. 177–213.

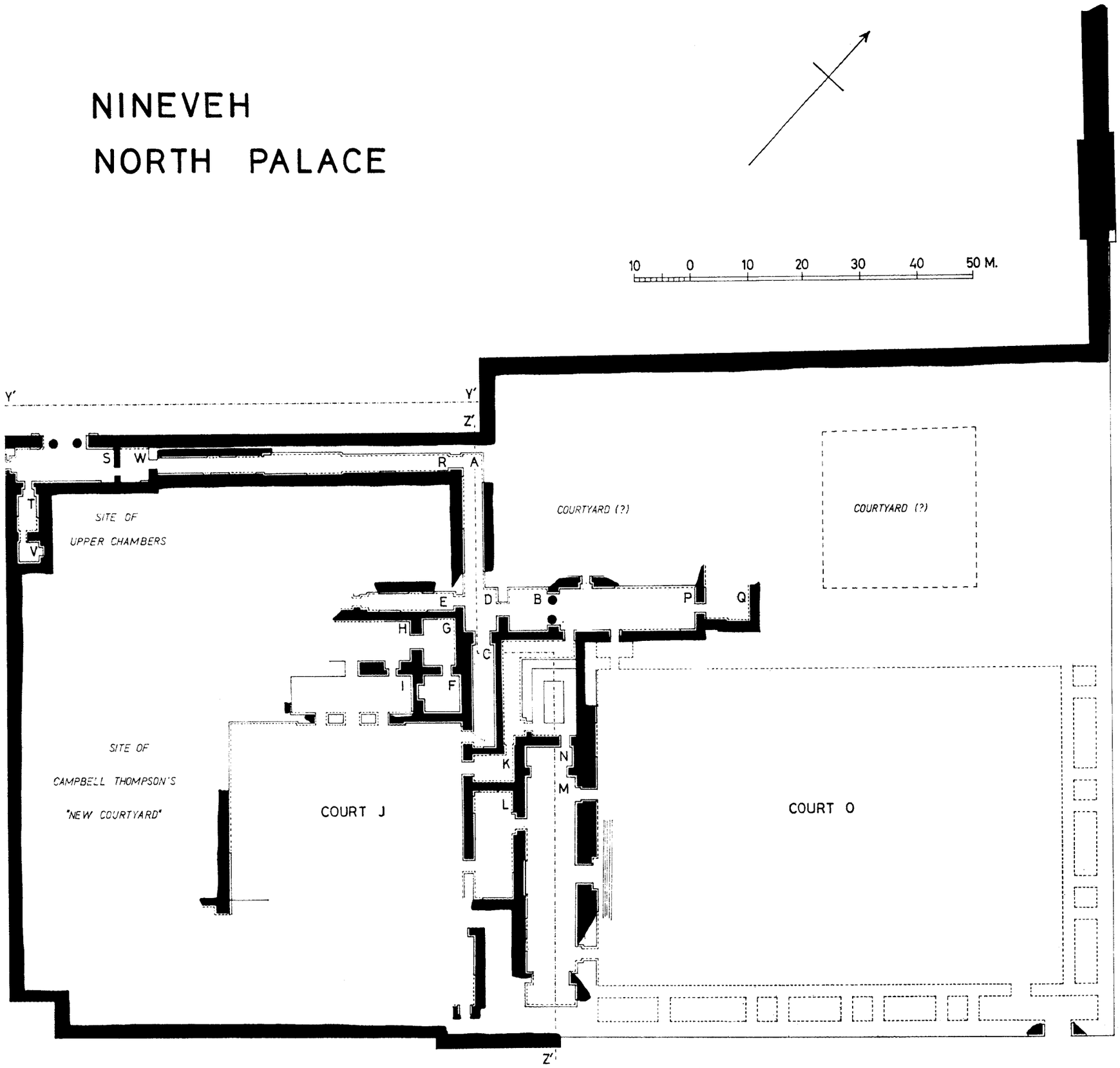


Fig. 7. A reconstructed plan of the North Palace

referred to by the Akkadian terms, *bābānu* and *bītānu*,[1] were usually centred each around one of the main courtyards of the building; but in the larger palaces this system could readily be expanded, and in most cases there were also smaller courtyards providing subsidiary accommodation to both sectors. The two main courtyards were connected by the principal group of chambers of the building, that is the 'Throne Room Suite' in the royal palaces, or the main reception suite in the private residences.

Thus in the North Palace the two main courtyards can be identified as those areas marked on Boutcher's plans by the letters J and O. The latter was probably the forecourt, the more public part of the building, and Court J the central courtyard, around which was disposed the residential sector of the palace. The two were connected by Rooms L and M which formed the nucleus of the Throne Room Suite.

The Outlines of the Palace

As is to be seen from Boutcher's second plan (5, 2), the outer limits of the North Palace have been traced to the south-west and also, to a certain extent, to the north-west and south-east. On the north-west side Loftus followed the stone substructure of this wall to the north-east for some 200 m, at which point it turned an acute right angle and continued for a short distance in a north-westerly direction. To the south-east all trace of the wall was lost at approximately 96.50 m from the south corner; but at a point some 80 m further on there have been discovered the remains of a doorway on the same general alignment as this wall, thus probably marking a continuation of it, and this is restored as such in fig. 7. Of the north-east outer wall no trace has yet been found.

The Forecourt Area

Of the original plan of Court O and its dependencies little has as yet been recovered.[2] Off the south-west side of the courtyard opened Room M, the main audience hall or Throne Room, and in the west corner a doorway led, either directly or through a communicating chamber, into Room P. The latter evidently formed part of an additional wing of state apartments, and thus will be described in greater detail below. As for the rest of this sector of the palace we know little, but in fig. 7 the general outlines of Court O have been restored as might be expected by comparison with other palaces of this period; that is, with a single range of chambers opening off its other three sides and probably with additional accommodation centred on a smaller courtyard to the north-west, in the north corner of the building. It is assumed that the doorway discovered on the south-east side of the palace was one of the main entrances to the building, as indicated by its width and the fact that it was decorated with orthostats, although unsculptured, and it is thus restored here as leading through a guard chamber into Court O. Although no trace of the north-east wall of the palace has been discovered, it is here drawn on a line with the north-west projection of the north-west outer wall, thus allowing suitable dimensions for a single row of chambers along this side of Court O. Alternatively it is possible that this projection of the north-west wall indicates that the palace extended further in this direction, possibly with a second outer courtyard as found in Sargon's palace at Khorsabad and in that at Til Barsib, in which buildings it was necessary to pass through two outer courtyards before reaching the Throne Room.[3] In both cases this means of approach was set on a 'bent axis', that is on entering the second, inner courtyard one had to make a right-angle turn before coming to the Throne Room. The layout of the North Palace, however, would suggest that if such an outer forecourt did exist, it lay to the north-east of Court O, thus providing a direct approach to Room M, and not to the north-west or south-east as might be expected by comparison with the Khorsabad and Til Barsib palaces. Furthermore the dimensions of the few parts of the North Palace that have been excavated do not necessarily suggest that it was a building of any considerable size, and, as will be seen below, it is here proposed that the projection of the north-west outer wall may have formed part of a large enclosure to the north-west of the palace which contained a garden or game park.

The Throne Room Suite—Rooms L, M and N

In the Late Assyrian palaces the principal reception suite is of a standard plan. This consisted of the main audience hall of the building which opened off the forecourt and led through a smaller hall into the inner, central courtyard, and off one end of this lay a small ante-room and stairwell, as for example in Residence L at Khorsabad, Rooms 115–121, shown here in fig. 8.[4] Thus in the North Palace Rooms L, M and N can be identified as the Throne Room Suite both by reason of their position in the palace complex and also of their plan, with Room M as the Throne Room which led through L into the central courtyard J, and with N as the ante-room giving into a reconstructed stairwell to the north-west.

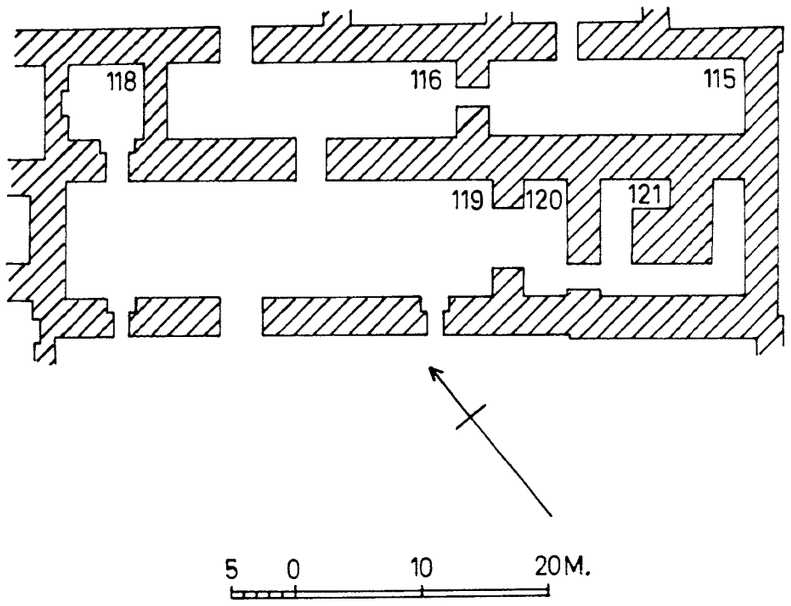


Fig. 8. Plan of the Throne Room Suite of Residence L at Khorsabad

Room M, the Throne Room, was connected to Court O by three doorways. These were approached up a flight of steps, a feature not found elsewhere in Late Assyrian palace architecture but which can be compared with the standard arrangement in the North Syrian '*bīt ḫilāni*' type palaces in which the columned portico leading through into the audience hall was usually approached by such a series of steps.[5] Boutcher also marks another drop in the level of the pavement of Court O, some 21.50 m from the outer façade of Room M. This, however, measured 1 ft 4 in, or approximately 40 cm, and so probably represents the difference between two strata rather than a continuation of the steps.

As is noted in the accompanying catalogue of the orthostats,[6] slabs 8 and 9 of Room M, which decorated its south-west wall opposite the central, main entrance, were set in a shallow recess and, unlike all the other orthostats yet discovered in this hall, were left unsculptured. Similarly in the Throne Room of Sargon's Palace at Khorsabad, Room VII, the orthostat opposite the central entrance from Court VIII was recessed but otherwise unsculptured, as also was the central slab on the south-east wall of this room, in front of which lay the throne daïs (see fig. 9).[7] The obvious connection between the two blank slabs in the Khorsabad Palace probably indicates that on certain occasions the throne was removed from its usual position on the daïs and set opposite the central doorway, thus in full view of the courtyard. Both in Sargon's

[1] E.g. A. MOORTGAT, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia* (1969), p. 127. It is by no means certain, however, that this is the correct usage of these terms. *bābānu* is used generally of the outside of an object or building, etc., or the personnel attached thereto (*C.A.D.* vol. 2, p. 7), and similarly *bītānu* of the interior (*idem.* pp. 274–5), with the adjectives *bābānû* and *bītānû* meaning 'outer' and 'inside' (*idem.* pp. 7 and 276). On the other hand *bītānu* does in certain cases evidently refer to a specific structure within the building, whether it be palace or temple, and it is used thus by Esarhaddon in his description of the *ekal māšarti* or arsenal on Nebi Yunus at Nineveh (*Sumer* XII (1956), p. 30 ll. 15–32). By coincidence Sennacherib also refers to the *kisallu bābānû* of this building (D. D. LUCKENBILL, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, (*O.I.P.* II), p. 130 ll. 70–1, p. 131 l. 58, and p. 132, l. 67), that is, the outer courtyard, but otherwise neither of these terms appears in the Assyrian Palace texts, and there is no evidence that they specifically refer to those two sectors of the building which are here distinguished as the basic components of the palace complex.

[2] L. W. King made several soundings in this part of the mound but found that it had been occupied at a later date, with the result that all trace of the Late Assyrian edifice had evidently been obliterated (THOMPSON, *C.E.N.* p. 61). The site of this later structure is probably marked by the low Tell to be seen in the contour map of the mound to the north-east of the North Palace (see fig. 6 on p. 25).

[3] In the Khorsabad Palace one passed through the two outer courtyards VIII and XV and thence to the Throne Room VII (LOUD & ALTMAN, *op. cit.*, pl. 76) and at Til Barsib through Courts A and B to Room XXI (F. THUREAU DANGIN & M. DUNAND, *Til-Barsib*, plan B).

[4] LOUD & ALTMAN, *op. cit.*, pl. 72.

[5] H. FRANKFORT, *Iraq* XIV (1952), p. 120.

[6] See pp. 33–62.

[7] G. LOUD, *Khorsabad I. Excavations in the palace and at a city gate* (*O.I.P.* XXXVIII) pp. 60–1 and fig. 71.

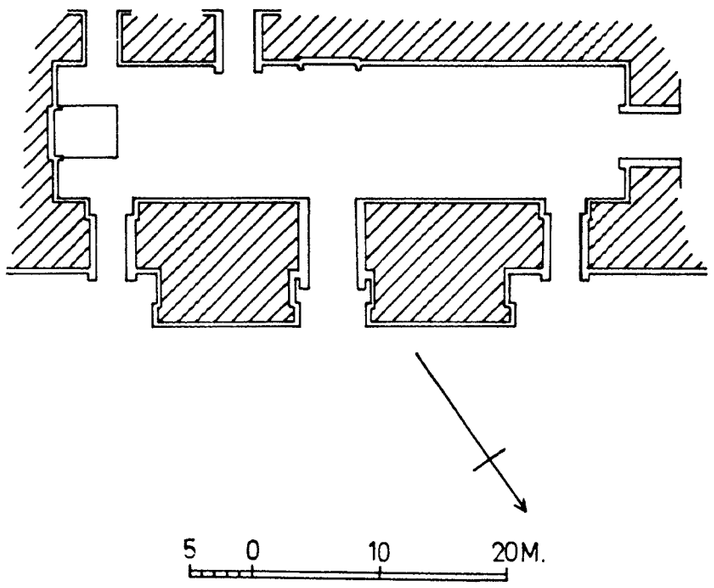


Fig. 9. Plan of the Throne Room of Sargon's Palace at Khorsabad

Throne Room and where discovered in the other Late Assyrian palaces[1] the throne daïs stood against the short wall to the left of the person entering from the forecourt, and it is to be assumed that it was similarly placed in Ashurbanipal's Throne Room. Of the south-east end of Room M little has been found, but it is evident that there was here a wide opening leading through into another chamber. The proximity of the south-east outer wall of the palace at this point necessarily limits the depth of this room, and it is thus suggested that it was little more than an alcove, similar to Room N opening off the opposite end of Room M, and that here was set the throne daïs. Such a recessed alcove for the throne is not found in the 9th and 8th century palaces, but is probably to be seen opening off the east end of the Throne Room of the Town Wall Palace at Nimrud, a modest building dating from the latter part of the 7th century.[2]

A second feature of interest to be seen in the orthostats of Room M is that the sculptured slabs evidently illustrate two separate campaigns.[3] Those on the south-west wall show Ashurbanipal's victory over his rebellious brother, Shamash-shum-ukin, viceroy of Babylon, and his Elamite allies, while the reliefs on the north-east wall depict his exploits in Upper Egypt. This arrangement is probably to be explained by the fact that this hall was orientated about its long axis, the focal point being the throne at the south-east end, which would thus have been flanked on either side by the visual accounts of two of Ashurbanipal's more important campaigns, that to the left and facing those entering the Throne Room showing the defeat of the faithless Babylonians, and that to the right the subjection of Egypt, Assyria's distant rival in the ancient world.[4]

Room N is here identified as the ante-room leading through into a stairwell by reason of its position, dimensions and also the characteristically wide doorway connecting it to the Throne Room. The area to the north-west of this chamber was apparently left unexcavated, and it is thus possible to reconstruct here a small room containing a solid *libn* newel. The size of this area, however, indicates that it would probably have contained more than such a stairwell, and since Boutcher marks doorways giving into it from Rooms K and P as well as from the ante-room, Room N, it is restored in fig. 7 with a passage skirting round the north-west and south-west sides of the stairwell. The resulting plan is both clumsy and structurally somewhat unsatisfactory, but it is to be remembered that this is a purely hypothetical reconstruction, and furthermore that in this case such an awkward arrangement may have resulted from Ashurbanipal's alterations and additions to the fabric of an earlier structure.[5]

In the principal reception suites of the larger palaces of the 8th and 7th centuries there was also included a bathroom (Residence L at Khorsabad, Room 118—fig. 8). This, which may have been intended for both ritual and practical ablutions, lay adjacent to the Throne Room to which it was connected by a doorway in the long wall just to the left of the throne daïs. Such a chamber can be restored in the North Palace in the unexcavated area to the south-west of Room M and the south-east of Room L, and although no trace has been found of the doorway leading into it, it will be seen from Boutcher's earlier plan (text-plate 7) that very little if anything was found of slabs nos. 4 to 6 of Room M, and it is thus quite feasible that Rassam inadvertently missed here the presence of a doorway Alternatively, it is possible that the bathroom was entered not from Room M but from the recessed throne alcove which is here restored opening off the south-east end of the audience hall.

The Central Courtyard—Court J

Of Court J, which is here identified as the central courtyard or main residential area of the palace, substantial remains have only been discovered on its north-west and north-east sides. The latter façade was pierced by two doorways, one leading into Room L which connected this courtyard via the Throne Room to the forecourt, and a second into Room K, a small chamber in which Rassam only discovered fragmentary remains of the orthostats and no evidence as to its original function. In the east corner of the courtyard there was found a stretch of walling, which evidently included one jamb of a doorway to the north-west and a second doorway at its south-east end. This may either have formed part of the group of rooms opening off the south-east side of Court J or, as is suggested by the fact that this wall terminated at either end with a doorway, it is possibly to be restored as a passage-way. In this case the alignment of the wall would indicate that such a passage was entered from the courtyard either through a small communicating chamber or by an awkward stepped doorway. Alternatively it is possible that the plan is in fact misdrawn, Boutcher having set this wall on a line with the south-west wall of Room L instead of with the north-east façade of the courtyard. The question also arises as to where this passage led. The buttress in the outer wall of the palace at this point may indicate that there was here a secondary entrance to the building, as found for example in Residence J at Khorsabad, Rooms 21 and 22,[6] but this is not easily reconstructed. In short the evidence is too meagre, and until clarified by further excavation, the significance of this short section of walling must remain obscure.

Of the suite of chambers to the north-west of Court J only a fragmentary plan has been recovered, but nevertheless it is evident that it belongs to that group of residential suites most commonly found in Late Assyrian palaces and residences. These all basically consist of a double range of chambers made up of a reception hall opening off the courtyard and leading through into an inner, 'retiring' chamber, and with a bathroom opening off either or both of these rooms. Thus in the North Palace, Room I was the reception hall, H the inner chamber[7] and F the bathroom. Although it is not recorded that any plumbing fixtures were discovered in Room F, it can tentatively be identified as a bathroom on account of the niche in its south-west wall, this being a characteristic feature of such chambers in Late Assyrian buildings. Originally this would have been paved with a brick or slab pierced for drainage, and although Rassam excavated the remains of a large drain or sewer passing under the floor of Room F,[8] he unfortunately does not note whether or not he found this to be connected to such a drain-hole. On the opposite, north-east wall of Room F the upper part of the sculptured slabs was pierced by two arched window-type apertures, as also was slab no. 21 of Room C on the other side of this wall[9] (see pl. XI). It is unlikely that these formed a means of communication between these two chambers, but instead are to be compared with the 'wind chimneys' which have been found extensively at Nimrud.[10] These were evidently for ventila-

[1] That is at Khorsabad in Palace F, Room 23 (LOUD & ALTMAN, *Khorsabad* II, pl. 75), at Nimrud in the North-west Palace, Room B (M. E. L. MALLOWAN, *Nimrud and its Remains*, plan III) and in Fort Shalmaneser, Room T 1 (*idem.* plan VIII), and at Til Barsib, Room XXII (THUREAU-DANGIN & DUNAND, *op. cit.*, plan B), and also in three lesser reception rooms at Nimrud, Room 8 of the Burnt Palace (MALLOWAN, *op. cit.*. plan IV), Room 3 of Palace AB (*idem.* I, p. 290, fig. 267), and the 'Throne Room' of the Nabu Temple (*idem.* plan VI).

[2] *Iraq* XIX (1957), pl. X, and see also *Iraq* XXXII (1970), p. 194.

[3] See pp. 16, 45–8, and also READE, *Iraq* XXVI (1964), p. 9.

[4] I am indebted to Prof. M. A. Brandes for drawing my attention to this technique of arranging the reliefs in certain halls of the Late Assyrian palaces.

[5] See p. 5, n. 9 above.

[6] LOUD & ALTMAN, *Khorsabad* II, pl. 71.

[7] As shown in Boutcher's plans, Room H is of greater width than Room I, instead of the reverse, suggesting that it may in fact have been the more important chamber. Whether this was so, or alternatively whether the plan is simply misdrawn, we do not know; but on the other hand the presence of Passage E to the north-west of Rooms H and G does show that this suite was not of the type that consisted of a triple range of rooms, namely two parallel reception halls with a row of smaller chambers to the rear, as found for example in Residence L at Khorsabad, Rooms 29 to 34 and 35 to 41 (LOUD & ALTMAN, *ibid.*, pl. 72).

[8] RASSAM, *A.L.N.*, p. 222.

[9] GADD, *S.A.*, p. 182.

[10] MALLOWAN, *op. cit.*, I, p. 106 *et passim.* As to the question of actual fenestration, no evidence has as yet been found either in the North Palace or any other Late Assyrian building for the provision of any form of lighting, but on the other hand, although in the less important chambers, such as storerooms, bathrooms, etc., the necessity probably did not arise, it would appear unlikely that the large audience halls, especially those which did not open directly off a courtyard, were left completely windowless. This could have been either by means of clerestories, shallow slit-type windows in the upper part of the walls just below

tion, and consisted of a vertical shaft built in the body of the wall which led up from the window-type aperture in the room to some form of 'chimney' projecting out over the roof of the building.

The outer façade of Room I is restored by Boutcher as being pierced by three wide doorways separated by two square pillars. Although we know from the Late Assyrian palace texts that a columned portico structure or *bīt ḫilāni* was erected in front of certain halls, such a portico entrance leading directly into the reception room has not been found elsewhere.[1] Since it would appear from Boutcher's plans that Rassam found no trace of the two pillars, but only excavated the outer jamb of each side entrance, this façade is probably better reconstructed either with three doorways, but each of a lesser width, thus making the two dividing lengths of wall less like pillars, as shown in Fig. A, or by eliminating the central entrance so that there were only two doorways leading into Room I, as found, for example, in the North-west Palace at Nimrud, Room S.[2]

Of the south-west façade of Court J a short length of walling has been traced, terminating with a doorway at its south-east end. Unlike the north-west and north-east façades of the courtyard, the orthostats on this wall were unsculptured, and according to Boutcher's plan (text-plate 7) there was also found here a 'moulded stylobate', which is possibly to be identified as the piece of architectural moulding published by Loftus in the Second Report of the Assyrian Excavation Fund.[3] It is not evident from the plan whether this moulding decorated the orthostats[4] or was but a fragment found in the débris, possibly having fallen from an upper part of the wall. Loftus notes that the piece he illustrates was only an example of the several mouldings discovered on this site. The area to the south-west of this wall has subsequently been investigated by L. W. King and Campbell Thompson, the latter concluding that they had found here the remains of another courtyard (fig. 10).[5] Campbell Thompson's account of these discoveries, however, is only cursory and his plan by no means easy to follow, but it would appear that basically they excavated the scattered fragments of paving slabs and bricks, and found but little trace, if any, of actual walling. It is possible, therefore, that this was in fact the flooring of the suite of rooms opening off this side of Court J and not the pavement of another courtyard. By comparison with other Late Assyrian palaces one would expect to find here the main residential suite, lying on the opposite side of the central courtyard to the Throne Room Suite. However, the fact that the orthostats decorating the south-west façade of Court J were unsculptured may indicate a different arrangement, namely that this was a blind wall with a small inner courtyard behind, off which opened further residential quarters. George Smith also excavated in the south corner of the North Palace and found here the remains of a doorway furnished with two column bases, one of which is now in the British Museum (pl. I) and the other in Istanbul.[6] However, the actual position of this doorway remains unknown.

In both of Boutcher's plans there is drawn a short line projecting from the south-west wall of Court J. No reference is made to this by either Rassam or Loftus, but it is to be noted that the orthostats of the south-west façade to the north-west of this line are marked as being unsculptured, and thus they were evidently in a fairly good state of preservation when excavated, while those to the south-east are shown as being either fragmentary or almost completely lost. It may also be of significance that this line corresponds with the south-east wall of Room L, suggesting that it may represent a section of walling, part of the south-east façade of the courtyard. All trace of the orthostats decorating this wall may well have been lost, only leaving the mudbrick structure or edge of the courtyard paving to be followed, with the result that Rassam did not

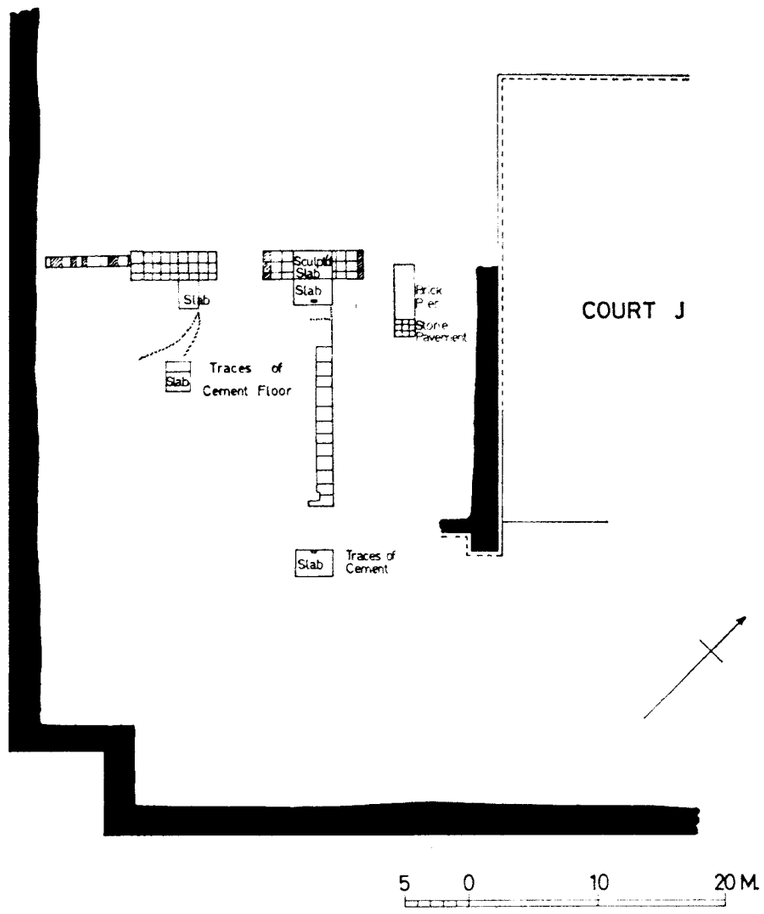


Fig. 10. Plan of Thompson's 'New Courtyard' of the North Palace

recognize this to be the line of a wall. Alternatively the presence of a doorway at the south-east end of the south-west wall of Court J may indicate that the courtyard extended further in this direction, as would also be preferable if the fragment of walling in the east corner of Court J were to be restored as including a doorway leading off it. In either case, it is to be noted that the dimensions of the area to the south-east of Court J and as contained within the south-east outer wall of the palace allow for the reconstruction of a suite of similar size and plan to that opening off the north-west side of the courtyard.

The Ascending Passage—A–R, and the chambers leading off it

In the west corner of the North Palace Loftus excavated an impressive columned entrance which led up along the L-shaped passage, R–A, into Room D, and thence to the rest of the building.[7] The walls of Room S, the entrance hall, were pierced by four doorways: the columned portal to the north-west with a second, more modest outer entrance to the south-west, to the north-east the doorway which led through Room W into the ascending passage, and fourthly that giving into Rooms T and V. The last-named two chambers were evidently of comparatively minor importance, as indicated by the fact that the orthostats skirting the walls therein were unsculptured, and also by the reliefs decorating the reveals of the doorway between Rooms T and S which were carved with mythical beings facing into Room S, not Room T. Room V, the inner, smaller chamber, was furnished with a shallow recess in its north-east wall, suggesting that this may have been a bathroom; and it is possible, therefore, that the function of these two chambers was either that of a guardroom or of an ablution suite for the convenience of those entering the palace by means of Room S.

Loftus notes of Room S that its floor level was at least 20 ft, that is approximately just over 6 m, lower than that of the main part of the palace.[8] The gradient of the ascending passage A–R can thus be cal-

roof level, or by sky-lights. The last method would have been especially practical to incorporate in a flat-roofed building and could also have been easily curtained off when necessary in winter, but evidence for the second alternative is possibly to be seen in certain reliefs which show rectangular or triangular apertures usually set just below the crenellations of the walls of foreign cities (e.g. PATERSON, *P.S.*, pls. 7, 39, 68–70, 77, 83–4, 85 and 94–5). However, there is no indication that these were in fact windows rather than decorative niches, and it is also to be remembered that they are only shown as incorporated in foreign buildings and never as in an Assyrian monument. On the other hand it is to be noted that Sennacherib specifically records that he included two types of window, *aptu* and *birru*, in the chapels of his South-west Palace on Kuyunjik (LUCKENBILL, *op. cit.*, p. 106 l. 31 and p. 120 l. 25), and this may well indicate that such features were not generally to be found in the Late Assyrian palaces.

[1] As a result of this suite being reconstructed as entered through a columned portal, Koldewey has in fact erroneously identified it as a *bīt ḫilāni* structure (F. VON LUSCHAN, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* II, p. 190).

[2] MALLOWAN, *op. cit.*, plan III. See also *Iraq* XXXII, (1970) p. 208, n. 138.

[3] Reproduced below, in appendix.

[4] As assumed by READE, *Iraq*, p. 7.

[5] THOMPSON, *C.E.N.* pp. 61–2 and 66, and plans 5 and 6.

[6] SMITH, *A.D.*, p. 143. See above, p. 23.

[7] A similar entrance is probably to be reconstructed in Sennacherib's South-west Palace at Kuyunjik, namely through Rooms LXIX to LXXI, along a restored passage into Room LI, and thence along XLIX into the main body of the building (LAYARD, *N.&B*, plan No. I facing p. 67). Compare also the town wall gateway into Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud, Rooms R 1 to R 9, etc. (MALLOWAN, *op. cit.*, plan VIII).

[8] *Second Report of the Assyrian Excavation Fund*, p. 6. As is to be seen from the contour map of Kuyunjik (fig. 6), the North Palace was evidently built on an uneven ground surface which sloped down to the west and north-west from the central part of the mound where it lay adjacent to the Nabu Temple. Thus although the floor level of the palace was some 6 m or more above that of the Tell by its west corner, it is probable that to the south and south-east there was little or no disparity between the two, and that the palace could be entered direct without the necessity for a ramp or steps. Similarly the flight of steps discovered towards the south-west end of Court O may not have been intended simply to provide an impressive approach to the Throne Room, Room M, but may have been necessary as a result of the sloping ground surface, suggesting that the chambers disposed around this courtyard were in fact built on varying floor levels.

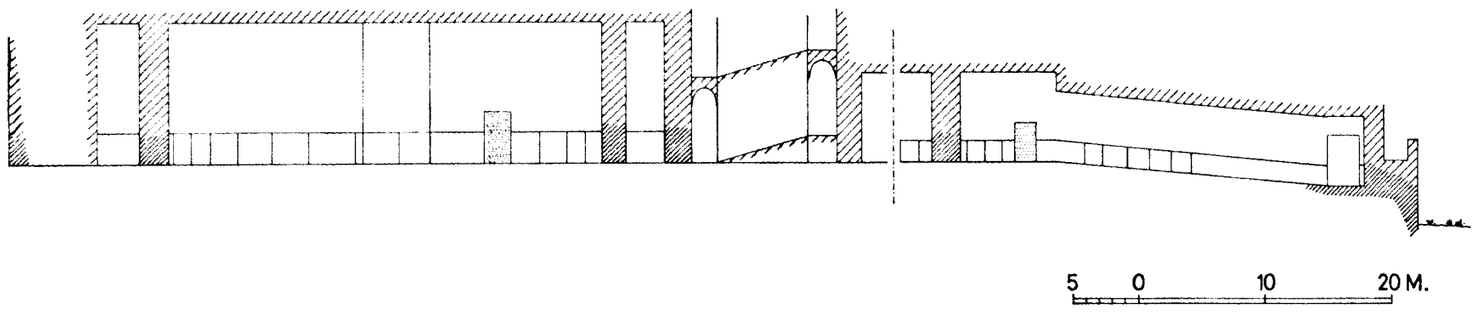


Fig. 11. Reconstructed elevation of section Z-Z on fig. 7

culated at approximately 1:12, this allowing for the right-angled turn at the intersection of the two rooms (see fig. 12). As shown in Boutcher's plans, the walls of the lower passage, Room R, were recessed for an indeterminate length towards the centre of the chamber, suggesting that there were here two sets of doors which, for security reasons, closed in both directions.

The reliefs which decorated the walls of Rooms A, R and S formed part of the famous lion-hunt series, and are fully described elsewhere in this book, but it is necessary here to refer to two points of interest in these slabs which may be of significance in the interpretation of the original function of this group of chambers. In the first place, the lion-hunt reliefs have only been found in this sector of the palace, that is in Rooms A, C, E, R and S, whereas the sculptured orthostats in the Throne Room Suite, Court J and in the other state apartments are carved either with the figures of mythical creatures or illustrate Ashurbanipal's martial successes. Secondly the lion-hunt reliefs were so arranged that those on the south-west wall of Room A and the south-east wall of Room R show the king and his retinue going forth to the hunt while those on the opposite wall depict his return. It is thus plausible to conclude that this entrance to the palace was specifically intended to be used in connection with the chase, which in turn would suggest that this took place in a game park lying somewhere to the north-west of the palace. This may have been sited either beyond or actually within the city walls of Nineveh, and in the latter case either to the north-west of Kuyunjik in the west corner of the outer town, or alternatively on the citadel mound itself.[1] Reference has already been made to the north-west projection of the north-west outer wall of the North Palace, and it is here suggested that this may have formed part of an enclosure wall which encompassed such a game park to the north-west and possibly also partly to the south-west of the palace.[2] Boutcher shows a long buttress in this wall which probably marks the position of an important outer entrance leading into the enclosure.

Room D connected the ascending passage with three other chambers, B, C and E, the last two of which were similarly decorated with reliefs from the lion-hunt series. Room E was evidently a passage leading through into the west corner of the building, and will be discussed below in connection with the 'Upper Chambers'. In Room C there was discovered part of Ashurbanipal's famous library,[3] the rest being unearthed in Sennacherib's South-west Palace on Kuyunjik. The dimensions of this room, a long narrow chamber, were perfectly suited for its use as a storage room and it is quite possible that it was employed as such at the time of the destruction of this building;[4] but on the other hand its position in the palace complex and the fact that it was decorated with an important series of reliefs which were a continuation of those found in Rooms S, R and A suggest that its original purpose was otherwise. A noticeable defect in the planning of the North Palace, as shown in Boutcher's plans, is the lack of a direct means of access between the ascending passage and Court J. Room D could probably be reached from Court O, the forecourt, through Rooms B and P, and thence by means of the Throne Room Suite from Court J. There may also have been a passage connecting Rooms P and K, as restored here, which would provide a slightly more direct approach into the central courtyard. However, both alternatives are most circuitous and hardly in character with the evident importance of this entrance to the building, let alone with the general principles of Assyrian palace architecture, and it is thus proposed that Room C was in fact an extension of the ascending passage A–R, leading through into Court J. Significantly the only stretch of walling in Room C which Rassam failed to trace lay close to the south corner of the room, and thus in fig. 7 there is here restored a doorway.[5]

Of the group of chambers which led off Room D to the north-east, B, P and Q, only a fragmentary plan has been recovered, and little is known of their original function or connection with the rest of the building. Furthermore there is no parallel in contemporary palace architecture either for the position of these rooms in the palace complex or for their general layout. Their dimensions and the fact that the walls were lined with orthostats indicate that they were of some importance, probably part of an additional block of state apartments which stretched up to the north-west wall of the building. The long hall, B–P, which was divided into two parts by a columned screen wall, evidently acted as a vestibule, connecting the various adjoining parts of the palace. Of the orthostats in Room B little trace remained, but those in Room P were found to be unsculptured, as also were those in Q. The recessed reveals of the doorway in the north-west wall of Room P probably indicate that it led through either into a courtyard or into a more important chamber.

The 'Upper Chambers'[6]

While excavating Room S and the adjoining chambers Loftus discovered a number of orthostats which evidently had not originated from these rooms, but had in fact fallen into them from above. The plan of such an upper storey is of course completely lost, but nevertheless it is possible to make a number of observations as to certain aspects of its original form and also as to its connection with the rest of the palace.

As has already been seen, Loftus records that the floor level of Room S was some 6 m or more below that of the main part of the building, and it may thus be assumed that the chambers which were built over Rooms S–W stood in fact on a level with the rest of the palace, this allowing a suitable elevation for the lower storey. This wing, the so-called 'Upper Chambers', therefore, probably included the area bounded to the north-west and south-west by the palace wall, to the north-east by Room A, and to the south-east by Room E and an approximate projection of this passage up to the south-west outer wall of the building. The extent of this area and the general principles of Mesopotamian architecture would suggest that there was here included an open courtyard, probably connected to the rest of the palace by Passage E. Thus the chambers which had originally been decorated with the orthostats found in the lower floor would have opened off the south-west side of such a court. The fact that these slabs were sculptured indicates that these rooms were probably part of an important reception suite, this either being orientated with its long axis parallel to that side of the courtyard off which it opened, as found elsewhere in palaces of this period, or alternatively, as proposed above by Dr. Barnett,[7] it may have been set at right angles to this façade, that is on the same alignment as Rooms S and W below.

As to the actual plan of this suite, the probable length of some of the walls can be estimated by rearranging the fallen reliefs in their original series, for example the Hamanu-Din-Sharri group,[8] but nevertheless it remains almost impossible to establish the actual position of such walls, these slabs being found scattered generally in the various rooms of the lower floor. Of more positive significance is the doorway lying between Rooms W and R. This was of solid masonry, if we assume that the

[1] GADD evidently favours the former alternative, with the game park lying without the walls of Nineveh, *A.S.* pp. 46–7 and 72.

[2] In his *bīt redûti* inscription Ashurbanipal records that he did in fact plant a garden or orchard beside this palace, but unfortunately he does not state in which direction this lay, nor whether it was used as a game park (*V.R*, 10, col. x, ll. 104–7).

[3] RASSAM, *A.L.N.* p. 31.

[4] Alternatively these tablets may have fallen from an upper storey, as George Smith surmised had been the case of those he discovered in Sennacherib's Palace, where in several instances he found fragments of one tablet in two different chambers between which there was no doorway (SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 144).

[5] See also READE, *Iraq*, p. 8.

[6] These are not to be confused with the remains of Adad-nirari III's Palace at Nimrud which Layard also referred to by this name (LAYARD, *N.&R.* II, pp. 14–17).

[7] See p. 20.

[8] See pp. 59–60.

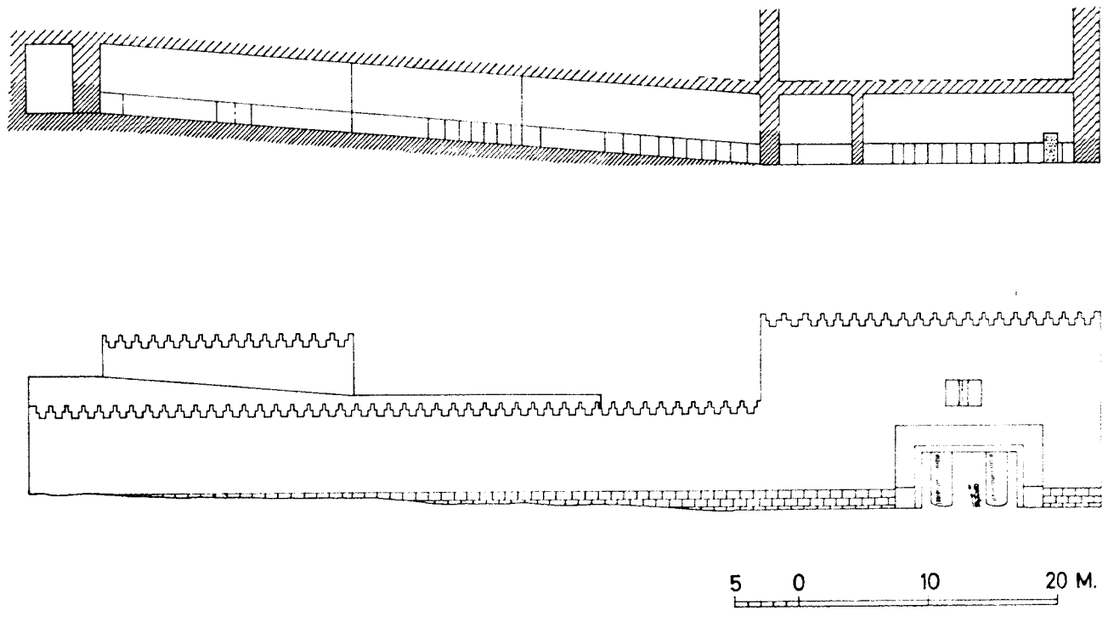


Fig. 12. Reconstructed section and exterior elevation of section Y-Y on fig. 7

north-west jamb had subsequently been robbed, and was probably built in this manner so as to bear the added weight of the 'Upper Chambers', thus marking the position of one of the main components of this suite, the north corner. It is unlikely that this group of rooms extended any further to the north-east, for at this point the floor level would have been broken by the rising elevation of Room R. This would also exclude the possibility of there having been a continuous low parapet wall along this side of the palace, but on the other hand attention should be drawn to the increase in width of the north-west outer wall to the north-east of the doorway between Rooms W and R which continues thus along the length of the latter chamber. This may indicate that there was here incorporated a narrow walk on a level with the main part of the building and accessible from the 'Upper Chambers', as is suggested in the two reconstructed elevations, figs. 11 and 12. This would probably have been intended both for security reasons and to provide a panoramic view to the north-west.

A further unusual feature of the 'Upper Chambers' is that they were evidently decorated both with lion-hunt reliefs and orthostats depicting Ashurbanipal's Elamite conquests, a combination not found elsewhere in this building. The slabs of Room E were carved solely with scenes connected with the lion-hunt series found in the adjoining ascending passage A–R, and thus it would appear that, if in fact Room E did provide access to the 'Upper Chambers', the latter would also have been connected in some way with the chase and the various ceremonies attached thereto. As far as can be seen, the two categories of reliefs were found in close proximity to each other, suggesting that they may have originated from the same chamber, but how this combination may have been arranged is fully discussed above by Dr. Barnett (p. 20).

* * *

As may be concluded from this brief attempt at an explanation of the architectural remains of the North Palace, our knowledge of this building is both meagre and in parts subject to some doubt. This is in no way intended as a denigration of the labours and achievements of Rassam and Loftus, for when considering their work it must be borne in mind that they were amongst the first pioneers not only in the field of Mesopotamian discovery but also of archaeological investigation as such. They thus did not benefit from the ever-increasing technical and scientific knowledge which we now have at our disposal, nor were they aware of the mass of information that can be gleaned from an ancient site. In the case of the other mid-19th-century excavators of Assyrian monuments, notably Layard at Nineveh and Nimrud and the two Frenchmen, Botta and Place, at Khorsabad, it has been possible to check their results to some extent by subsequent, more scientific excavation, and thus we can now consider their work in the appropriate light. However the discoveries of neither Rassam nor Loftus have as yet been reinvestigated to any marked degree, and until this is done, we must reserve judgement on the accuracy of their drawings and reports.

CATALOGUE

PLATE I

OBJECTS ILLUSTRATING THE KING'S BUILDING ACTIVITIES

On this plate are assembled illustrations of some of the steps involved in the building works of Ashurbanipal.

Part of BM 124939 (Room H)
View of a pavilion or portico, with columns having proto-Corinthian and proto-Ionic capitals in the Phoenician style; perhaps representing a *bīt ḫilāni* or related type of structure, probably at Nineveh itself, with a part of Sennacherib's aqueduct at Jerwan. (See below, on plate XXIII (Room H), p. 41.)

BM 91989
Pedestal height: 3⅜ in; width: 14⅞ in; depth: 10¾ in (8.6 cm; 37.8 cm; 27 cm)
Diameter of column base: 8¾ in (22.2 cm). Total height 8½ in (21.6 cm)
Miniature cushion-shaped column base on a pedestal, one of two bases of columns, perhaps from a window. Found by George Smith 'at the ruined entrance of the north palace'. The companion base is in the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient East.
SMITH, *A.D.* p. 431.

BM 91026 The 'Rassam Cylinder' (Rm I)
Height: 19½ in (49.5 cm)
Ten-sided cylinder, inscribed in cuneiform with the annals of Ashurbanipal. Found by Hormuzd Rassam in 1854 in the North Palace, Nineveh, close to the so-called 'Cylinder A' (or Cylinder B). It represents the most complete record of Ashurbanipal's annals, and describes nine campaigns against various enemies, his rebuilding of the *bīt redûti* of Sennacherib (see p. 5), and his replacement of it by a new building equipped with a portico (*bīt ḫilāni*).
B.&A. Guide, pp. 228–9, pl. xlix.
LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, §§ 763–840.
RASSAM, *A.L.N.* p. 33, pl. opp. p. 218.
STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* I, p. xix; II, pp. 1–91.

Part of BM 124938 (Room H, see plate XXIII)
View of part of an Assyrian(?) palace. View of a palatial portico with columns supported by lions and sphinxes, possibly part of the palace of Sennacherib at Kuyunjik. See below, on plate XXIII (Room H), p. 41.

BM 90865 (Stele S²)
Height: 15¾ in (40 cm). Base broken.
Stele showing Ashurbanipal carrying ritual basket of earth on his head for rebuilding of E-zida (the shrine of the god Nabu in Borsippa).
Red sandstone: from Birs Nimrud (Borsippa) not Babylon as often stated.
B.&A. Guide, p. 74.
STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* I, p. xliv; II, pp. 240–4.
LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, §§ 974–7.

BM 90864 (Stele S³)
Height: 15½ in (39.5 cm)
Similar stele. Inscribed in front and rear with account of rebuilding of E-sagila (the temple of Marduk in Babylon) and E-Karzagina (the chapel of Ea in E-sagila).
B &A. Guide, p. 74 and pl. xxviii.
STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* I, p. xlv; II, pp. 245–9.
It is interesting to note that a third similar stele exists, worn and somewhat defaced (BM 90866), found by Rassam in 1880 at Borsippa, representing in this case Shamash-shum-ukin, as King of Babylon and rebuilder of E-zida. Text and illustrations in C. F. Lehmann, *Šamaššumukin König von Babylonien 668–648 v. Chr.* (Leipzig 1891) frontispiece and pp. 10–11.

BM 93011
Height: 11½ in (29.2 cm)
Original sculptor's design prepared for a relief showing king Ashurbanipal on foot spearing a lion which leaps at him.
Fine red clay
HALL, *B.&A.S.* pl. lvii.
No exact equivalent of this survives among the many illustrations of the king fighting a lion hand-to-hand. The nearest is a slab in the Louvre, AO 19903 (pl. LVII). Found by H. Rassam at Nebi Yunus in 1878. See p. 23.

K 2674
Height: 4⅝ in; width: 5⅞ in (11.7 cm; 14.9 cm)
Tablet containing captions for scenes of the Battle of the Ulai River (see above, p. 7 and below, pp. 42–3 and plate XXV).
LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, §§ 1048–1074.
STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* II, pp. 322–33.
WEIDNER, *A.B.K.R.A.*, *A.f.O* VIII, pp. 177–86.
This is an example of several cuneiform tablets inscribed with draft descriptions of subjects for carving on reliefs.

K 1268 + Sm. 488
Height: 3¾ in; width: 1 in (9.5 cm; 2.4 cm)
Clay tablet inscribed with a sculptor's letter, written by Nabû-ašarēd to King Ashurbanipal, describing the carving of two statues.

Vs	1	[a-na] LUGAL EN-ia
	2	[ÌR-k]a ^{ld}AG-SAG.KAL
	3	[Aš-š]ur É.ŠÁR.RA
	4	[a-na L]UGAL lik-ru-bu
	5	[ina muḫ-ḫi š]a LUGAL
	6	[iš-'a-l]a-an-ni
	7	[ ]^{1}EN-ib-ni
	8	[ ] × ma-a mu-tú
	9	[ ]-a pu-u-t[ú]
	10	[ ]-bu-ni
	11	[ú-ma-a a]n-nu-ri[g]
	12	⌜2^{II}ṣal⌝[-mu LUGA]L^{MEŠ}-ni
	13	ina UGU ⌜LUGAL⌝ nu-se-bi-la
	14	ṣal-mu LUGAL ša mé-ṣi-ri
	15	a-na-ku e-te-ṣi-ri
	16	ṣal-mu LUGAL ša kab-bu-se-te
	17	šu-nu e-ta-ap-šu
	18	LUGAL le-mur ša pa-an
	19	LUGAL ma-ḫi-ru-u-ni
	20	ina pu-te né-pu-uš
Rd	21	LUGAL a-na ŠU^{2}
	22	a-na zu-qe-te
	23	a-na SÍG.KAS
Rs	1	ú-zu-un liš-ku-nu
	2	ša ṣal-mu LUGAL ša e-pa-šu-ni
	3	^{GIŠ}ḫaṭ-ṭu ina pa-an a-ḫi-šú
	4	pa-ra-ak-at
	5	Á-šú ina si-qi-a-ni-šú
	6	šá-ak-na-at
	7	a-na-ku TA* pa-ni
	8	la-ma-gu-ru la e-pa-áš
	9	ina UGU bu-un-ni ina UGU me-me-ni
	10	a-qa-ba-áš-šu-n[u]
	11	[l]a i-šam-mu-né
	12	a-ki ra-ma-ni-šú-nu
	13	[ ] × -ni
Rs	14	[ ]LUGAL ×[ ]
	15	[ ]ši a-na-ku

16 [-n]u le-pu-uš
17 [la i-m]a-gúr-ru

'To H.M. the King!
Your servant Nabû-ašarēd:
May Ashur and Esharra bless the King!
Re the matter the King has asked me: (PN_1) and Bēl-ibni . . . (ll. 8–10 too fragmentary for translation). We have now sent two royal statues to the King. I have made the one which has 'form'; they made the one which is of a certain clumsiness. May the King have a look! We shall finish the one which the King prefers. The King should pay special attention to the hands, the chin and the hairdo. On the statue which they are making the sceptre is placed across his arm and his arm rests on his hip. I do not agree with this and shall not make it. If I talk to them on good taste or anything else, they do not even listen. They . . . on their own . . . (ll. 13–15 too fragmentary for translation). I want to do . . . but they do not agree.'

[This is admittedly a free translation, but we hope to have understood the message of this letter. There are several lexical problems: ša mé-ṣi-ri (obv. 14) cannot be separated from the verb eṣāru, 'to draw' (obv. 15), but it is used here in a technical sense not attested elsewhere (see AHw s.v. miṣru 'im Umriss'—a translation which is likewise guesswork); ša kab-bu-se-te must be a noun derived from the verb kabāsu 'to step on, trample on', D-stem kabbusu also 'to mistreat'; SÍG.KAS literally 'some sort of wool'; it might as well be part of the garment; since SÍG is also logogram for šārtu 'hair' we prefer the translation 'hairdo'; ina UGU bu-un-ni is taken by us as the noun būnu/bunnu of the verb *banā'u (*bnū) 'to be beautiful'. See small statue of Ashurnasirpal II from Nimrud the style of which seems to be criticized by the author of this letter.]

WATERMAN, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire II*, pp. 187, 233 (Letters 991 and 1051)

[These two pieces were joined by Professor K. Deller and Dr. S. Parpola, to whom I am grateful for the above free translation and comment—R.D.B.]

BM 90954
Height: 3¾ in; width: 3 in (9.5 cm; 7.5 cm)
Sculptor's model representing a winged female *lamassu*-sphinx—supporting a column base. Limestone.
Such architectural employment of sphinxes alternating with lions to support columns in the portico of a building is represented on the relief 124938 (see this plate and below p. 41 and pl. XXIII). This suggests that the building there represented is an Assyrian royal palace, perhaps part of Kuyunjik itself. (For similar use of sphinxes supporting column bases in North Syrian architecture, cf. those from Zinjirli and Sakca-Gözü.) The legs are restored as those of a cow, almost certainly wrongly, as a lioness's paws would be more appropriate.
SMITH, *A.D.* pl. opp. p. 174.
HALL, *B.&A.S.* pl. LVIII.

BM 30001–5
Five apotropaic clay figures of hounds.
Placed in a recess under the sculptured slab 1 of entrance *d* in Room S of the *bīt-hilāni* (see pl. XLV and p. 50). They are painted different colours and their names are inscribed on them in cuneiform on their left side in conformity with a ritual. BM 30003, painted white, is *ē tamtallik epuš pāka*, 'Do not consider, make thy bite!'; 30005, painted black, is *dan rigiššu*, 'Mighty is his bay!'; 30002, painted red, is *kāšid ajjābī*, 'Enemy-catcher'; 30004, greenish blue, is *munaššiku gārîšu*, 'Biter of his enemy'; 30001, painted white, is *mušēṣu lemnūti*, 'Bringer out of evil'.
GADD, *R.A.* XIX (1922) p. 159.
MEISSNER, *O.L.Z.* (1922) cols. 201–2.
B.&A. Guide, pp. 221, 239.
MEISSNER & OPITZ, p. 47, no. 4 (1922).
EBELING in EBERT, *R.L.V.* p. 205.
BOTTÉRO, *Syria* 33 (1956) pp. 22 ff.
SOLLBERGER, *U.E.T.* VIII (1965) pp. 8–9.

BM 132931 Fragment of a stele of Ashurbanipal(?)
Height: 10⅛ in; width: 22½ in (26 cm; 57 cm)
Showing the feet of the king facing left; the rich detail of his sandals is emphasized.
Bought in 1962.
BARNETT, *B.M.Q.* XXVI (1963) p. 94, and pl. XXXIXb.

ROOM A

'ASCENDING PASSAGE'

In this room sixteen slabs were found, 1–11 on the north-east wall, 12–16 on the south. Of these latter, number 13 is known only from a drawing in part, numbers 14–16 are in the Louvre (AO 19901). According to Rassam (*A.L.N.* p. 31) all the slabs except numbers 12–16 were 'totally destroyed'. What became of 12 and 13 is unknown.

PLATE II

THE ROYAL BODYGUARD AND SERVANTS BRINGING BACK THE KING'S HAND-CART FROM THE CHASE

(a) *Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 4–1, i.e. = 13–16).*[1] *Or. Dr. VII pl. I (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)*
Height: 11 in; width: 20 in (28 cm; 50.8 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Ascending Passage R'.
The king's hand-drawn cart brought by eunuchs or youths, preceded by bodyguard of young archers.
Pencil touched with white on grey paper.

(b) *Drawing by C. Hodder*[2] *(slabs 1–4, i.e. 13–16). Or. Dr. V pl. 35*
Height: 16 in; width: 26¾ in (40.6 cm; 68 cm)
Annotated: 'Northern Kouyunjik Palace'. 'Chariot drawn by two men preceded by archers'.
Pencil on white paper.

(c) *Detail drawing, Or. Dr. VII 2 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)*
Height: 14 in; width: 10¾ in (35.5 cm; 26 cm)
Annotated: 'Eunuch's head full size, slab No. 15'.
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Ascending Passage.'
Pencil touched with white on light brown paper.

PLATE III

THE ROYAL BODYGUARD OF ARCHERS

SLABS 14–16, Louvre AO 19901 (former 59)
Height: 60½ in; width: 164 in (153 cm; 440 cm)
Procession of royal servants.
PLACE, *N.&A.* III, pl. 62.
POTTIER, *A.A.* no. 59.
Encyclopédie TEL, II, pl. 6.

ROOM B

PLATE IV

GUARDIAN FIGURES OF THE DOORWAY

BM 118918
Height: 62¾ in; width: 88 in (158.1 cm; 223.6 cm)

BM 118917
Height: 63 in; width: 62 in (160 cm; 157.5 cm)
A pair of slabs from the doorjambs of Chamber B entrance (a), each showing a group of three apotropaic figures consisting of:
i. A bearded male figure with horned helmet with uplifted right arm.
ii. A male genius with human body, lion's head and equine ears brandishing a dagger.
iii. A bearded male holding an upright spear.
The lion-headed figure in each case has red paint on the neck.
HALL, *B.&A.S.* pl. XXXVI(1).
GADD, *S.A.* p. 191.
SCHAEFER & ANDRAE, *K.A.O.* pl. 536.
These slabs are not quite rectangular but taper very slightly towards the top. 118917 is slightly trimmed at the right-hand edge. Discovered by Rassam, January 1854.
The remaining slabs from this room (numbers 1–7) are shown on the plan as largely destroyed 'ruined and valueless'. In a letter to Layard written from Mosul, on 30 January 1854 (*L.P.* vol. LII = Add. MS 38482), Rassam describes these slabs as 'not more than 5 feet and about 7 wide' and describes the figures on them. He adds 'within a foot of each of these slabs there is a pedestal like the sketch you give in your "Nineveh & Babylon" p. 590. I cannot make out what these were used for as they stand at the entrance of a room . . .'.

[1] In this drawing the slabs 13–16 are re-numbered 4–1.
[2] The young artist who was sent out to assist Colonel Rawlinson and later Rassam with the renewed excavations in 1852. He fell ill in late 1853 and had to be shipped home, and it would seem that these and the lion hunt sculptures were all from this palace that he was able to draw before he collapsed (see above, p. 8).

ROOM C

THE ROYAL LION HUNT

The 'Room of the Lion Hunt' (see Introduction pp. 12–13 above) was decorated with two series of reliefs. One, on the North-East wall, consisted of numbers 1–17 (with 16–17 forming a short return on the South-East wall at a right angle). The other series stood on the South-West wall and was represented by slabs 18–29 (and possibly another two or three lost between 17 and 18). Of the first series, 13 slabs survive (corresponding to numbers 5–17), viz. BM 124858–124870 with three fragments: 124884, 124781 and Detroit 4481, which must precede slab 5 (plates V–IX). Of the second series, the British Museum has slabs 20–27 and a piece of 28 (BM 124850–124857, 124883), and a possible portion of 29 (plates X–XIII).

PLATE V Room C (North-East wall)

THE ROYAL LION HUNT
PREPARING THE KING'S WEAPONS
PREPARING THE ENCLOSURE
THE KING IN HIS CHARIOT IN AN ENCLOSURE

On this scene consisting of three registers, we see the king standing in his chariot, richly dressed in robes of state, ready to receive his bow and spears from his armourers and servants: in the fragment (124884) from the top row the bowyers are testing and stringing the king's bows, while a servant in front (largely lost) holds a shield. In the middle row, servants bring spears and bow-guards for the king's arm and fingers. In the lowest row (124781), they hold the stakes for the canvas screens behind which the horses, full of mettle, are being harnessed by the grooms. In a separate fragment (124858) a courtier receives the royal spear behind the men who are preparing the stakes to hold the screen. The fragment in Detroit (see below) is to be closely associated with this scene; it shows a groom holding the remains of two pairs of restive horses by the bridle. The size of the groom approximates closely to that on pl. VI.

Part of SLAB 2 or 3(?), Detroit Institute of Arts, No 4481
Height: 17½ in; width: 10½ in (44.5 cm; 26.7 cm)
Presented by Mrs Lillian Henkel Haass, 1944—acquired from the family of Admiral Hornsby, to whom it was given by Rassam.

Parts of SLAB 4(?) BM 124781
Height: 20½ in; width: 13 in (52 cm; 33 cm)
GADD, *S.A.* p. 178 and pl. 47.
Described above. Two servants, one turned left holding spear, the other, smaller, turned right holding wand under arm.

BM 124884
Height: 46 in; width: 69½ in (117 cm; 176.5 cm)
GADD, *S.A.* p. 186.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 56.
YADIN, *A.W.B.L.* fig. 453 (colour).
Described above.

SLAB 5, BM 124858
Height: 63 in; width: 50 in (160 cm; 127 cm)
Described above.

SLAB 6, BM 124859
Height: 62 in; width: 50 in (157.5 cm; 127 cm)
Described above.

PLATE VI Room C (North-East wall)

THE ROYAL LION HUNT (continued)
THE KING'S HORSES BROUGHT TO BE HARNESSED
THE CITIZENS OF NINEVEH CLIMBING A WOODED HILL TO WATCH THE HUNT
THE WALL OF GUARDS

Continuation of the scene on plate V. The king's horses are brought to be harnessed between the guards, who are of two different regiments, differently armed: beyond them is a hillock, surrounded by a relief marking the place of the lion hunt. Up it swarm eagerly the citizens of Nineveh to watch the sport, men and women; one wife, too pressing, is thrust back by her husband, who carries their picnic in his bag. Another woman excitedly waves on her companions, who part the brushwood to spy the sport. Beyond them stands the line of guards forming a wall, with spears at the ready, points down.

SLAB 7, BM 124860
Height: 61 in; width: 48 in (155 cm; 122 cm)
GADD, *S.A.* p. 183; *A.S.* p. 72.

SLAB 8, BM 124861
Height: 61 in; width: 45 in (155 cm; 114.3 cm)
GADD, *op. cit.*

SLAB 9, BM 124862
Height: 60 in; width: 47 in (152.4 cm; 119.4 cm)
GADD, *op. cit.*

SLAB 10, BM 124863
Height: 61 in; width: 47 in (155 cm; 119.4 cm)
GADD, *S.A.* p. 183; *A.S.* p. 72.

PLATE VII Room C (North-East wall)

THE ROYAL LION HUNT (continued)
HUNTSMEN AND MASTIFFS
DYING LIONS AND A LIONESS

Represented in four registers, the huntsmen hold the mastiffs baying on the leash; the lions and one lioness represented in three registers fall under the royal arrows, belching blood, twisting and writhing in death.

SLAB 10, BM 124863
Height: 61 in; width 47 in (155 cm; 119.4 cm)
GADD, *S.A.* p. 183.

SLAB 11, BM 124864
Height: 62 in; width: 50 in (157.5 cm; 127 cm)
GADD, *op. cit.*

SLAB 12, BM 124865
Height: 62 in; width: 47 in (157.5 cm; 119.4 cm)
GADD, *op. cit.*

Restorations: Slab 11—lioness's nose.

PLATE VIII Room C (North-East wall)

THE ROYAL LION HUNT (continued)

Three lions, still in three registers, are struck by the arrows of the royal marksman, who shoots from his fast-moving chariot. A lion springs at it from the rear, only to fall transfixed by the spears of the king's two young companions. Under the chariot rolls a dying lioness. Behind it, further lions fall; a lion and a lioness appear on this plate, two lions and a lioness on the next.

SLAB 13, BM 124866
Height: 63 in; width: 91 in (160 cm; 231.2 cm)
GADD, *S.A.* p. 183; *A.S.* p. 72.

SLAB 14, BM 124867
Height: 63 in; width: 45 in (160 cm; 114.3 cm)
PATERSON, *A.S.* pls. XXXVI–VII.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pls. 62, 63, 65.
STROMMENGER & HIRMER, *F.J.M.* pls. 248–9.

SLAB 15, BM 124868
Height: 64 in; width: 68 in (162.6 cm; 172.8 cm)
FRANKFORT, *A.A.A.O.* pl. 110.
Restorations: Slab 14—lion's muzzle and claws, rim of wheel.

PLATE IX Room C (North-East wall)
(South-East wall)

THE ROYAL LION HUNT (continued)
LION RELEASED FROM A CAGE
THE WALL OF GUARDS

For the conclusion of the hunt, the dying lions are rounded up by mounted bowmen, shown partly carved on the adjoining short South-East wall, which meets the North-East wall here. Below the bowmen a lion is released from a cage by means of a rising door. Beyond it is the double wall of guards who enclose the further side of the hunting arena.

SLAB 15, BM 124868
Height: 64 in; width: 68 in (162.6 cm; 172.8 cm)
GADD, *S.A.* p. 183; *A.S.* p. 72.

SLAB 16, BM 124869 (corner and frontal view)
Height: 65 in; width: 48 in (165.1 cm; 122 cm)

SLAB 17, BM 124870
Height: 65 in; width: 36 in (165.1 cm; 91.5 cm)

PLATE X Room C (South-West wall)

THE ROYAL LION HUNT (Second series)

Three drawings only of this series were made by the unfortunate Charles Hodder before he fell ill (see pp. 8, 36). The last is incomplete, and from the initials WB added below it may be assumed to have been finished by Boutcher (see above p. 16).

Drawing by C. Hodder (slabs 23–4). Or. Dr. V 38
Height: 17½ in; width: 25 in (44 cm; 64 cm)
Annotated: 'King hunting lion: wounded lion seizing wheel of chariot.' 'Northern Kouyunjik Palace.' '2½" to the foot.'
= *BM 124853–4*
Pencil on greyish paper.

Drawing by C. Hodder (slabs 25–6). Or. Dr. V 37
Height: 17¼ in; width: 24¾ in (44 cm; 63 cm)
Annotated: 'Portion of a lion hunt. Two dead lions and a lioness, one dying.' 'Northern Kouyunjik Palace.' '2½" to the foot'.
= *BM 124855–6*
Pencil on greyish paper.

Drawing by C. Hodder (slabs 27–8). Or. Dr. V 36
Height: 14¾ in; width: 20 1/16 in (37.5 cm; 51 cm)
Annotated: 'Dying lion. Men on horseback. Portion of lion in a cage.' 'Northern Kouyunjik Palace.'
= *BM 124857 and 124883*
Pencil on greyish paper.
The South-West wall of Room C was decorated similarly to the North-East wall with at least twelve reliefs (18–29) showing (twice) the king hunting lions from a chariot; of these, numbers 18–19 are in any case lost; only numbers 20–28 were fit to be removed and are now in the British Museum. The plan, however, makes it probable that there were once about three more slabs (unnumbered) between numbers 17 and 18 at the South-Eastern corner of Room C (where it is broken away) which are completely lost; the two scenes of the hunt thereby originally must have run into one. Discovered by Rassam in late 1853–early 1854 (*A.L.N.* p. 24).

PLATE XI Room C (South-West wall)

THE ROYAL LION HUNT

A lion which has climbed on to the back of the careering chariot, moving to the right, is stabbed by the king and speared by his two companions at the last moment.

SLAB 20, BM 124850
Height: 63 in; width: 67 in (160 cm; 170.2 cm)
PATERSON, *A.S.* pls. XL–XLI.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 182.

SLAB 21, BM 124851
PATERSON, *A.S.* pls. XL–XLI.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 61 (part).

There is an arched aperture in slab 28 which evidently formed a niche. Gadd's suggestion that it formed a window or peep-hole cut through the wall to the adjoining Room F (on which see pp. 30–31, 39–40) is not borne out by the arrangement of slabs there; although two of those have square gaps in their upper part where slabs are missing (possibly to form ventilation shafts), their positions do not tally with that of the niche here.

PLATE XII Room C (South-West wall)

THE ROYAL LION HUNT (continued)

A lion rampant is pierced through the nostrils by an arrow; another falls under the chariot, a third leaps at the chariot and, as it is speared, madly seizes and bites the huge chariot wheel.

SLAB 22, BM 124852
Height: 63 in; width: 43 in (160 cm; 109.3 cm)
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 181–2.

SLAB 23, BM 124853
Height: 63 in; width: 45 in (160 cm; 114.3 cm)
GADD, *op. cit.*

SLAB 24, BM 124854
Height: 63 in; width: 49 in (160 cm; 124.5 cm)
GADD, *op. cit.*
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 60 (part).

SLAB 25 (part), BM 124855
Height: 63 in; width: 52 in (160 cm; 132 cm)
HALL, *B.&A.S.* pls. XLVII–IX.

Restorations: Slab 22—lion's tail; horse's thigh.

PLATE XIII Room C (South-West wall)

THE ROYAL LION HUNT (concluded)

THE DYING LION

Four lions and a lioness are dead or dying. A bearded huntsman with a whip, and a beardless rider, follow up the quarry; a final fragment shows another lion roaring in his cage.

SLAB 25, BM 124855
Height: 63 in; width: 52 in (160 cm; 132 cm)

SLAB 26, BM 124856
Height: 63 in; width: 49 in (160 cm; 124 cm)
FRANKFORT, *A.A.O.* pl. 111a.
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 181–2.

SLAB 27, BM 124857
Height: 63 in; width 64 in (160 cm; 162.6 cm)

SLAB 28 (fragment), BM 124883
Height: 25 in; width: 27 in (63.5 cm; 68.6 cm)
GADD, *op. cit.* pp. 182, 186; *A.S.* p. 73.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 66.

SLAB 29(?), BM 124885
Height: 23 in; width: 25 in (58.5 cm; 63.8 cm)
Possibly a fragment of Slab 29; shows four beardless servants carrying a dead lion to right.
GADD, *op. cit.* p. 187.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 78.

Fragment of SLAB 29 (?). 'The Dying Lion', Mansell & Co Photograph 1055
This famous fragment of a relief, showing a lion pierced with an arrow facing right, is often said to be in the British Museum where, however, there is now no trace of it. It is in fact known only from a photograph formerly taken by Messrs. Mansell and stated in their Catalogue of 1880 then to be in the British Museum. According to Gadd, the photograph (here trimmed from its background) (*S.A.* p. 183) 'shows that the sculpture was then in a wooden packing case'. This is inexact. It showed it resting apparently on a twill tablecloth. Gadd adds that 'doubtless it still exists, but I do not know where, possibly in some country house in England'. Unfortunately his suggestion that it never was in the British Museum is not supported by PERROT & CHIPIEZ, whose artist St. Elme-Gautier drew it, annotating it 'Musée Britannique', even giving the approximate size as 0.54 m high, adding that 'nous ne pouvons indiquer que d'une manière approximative les dimensions d'un certain nombre de ces monuments à cause des glaces qui les recouvrent'. It was thus evidently one of those still exhibited in 1884. Gadd, overlooking St. Elme-Gautier's indication of the size, erroneously attributed this fragment to the smaller lion hunt series, indeed as did MEISSNER & OPITZ. The relief's upper framing edge shows that this belching lion, represented on a standing-line, was placed close to the top of the relief.
BONOMI, *Nineveh and its Palaces* (3rd ed.) 1875, fig. 194. Engraving reversed.
UNGER, *A.&B.K.* fig. 86.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 183.
PERROT & CHIPIEZ, II, fig. 269.
MEISSNER & OPITZ, pp. 58–9.

ROOM E

This room was one of four, A, B, C and E, which met at D like the arms of a cross. Fifteen slabs were noted by the excavators as surviving, but only numbers 5, 7, 8 and 13 were said to be fit to be removed; 5, 7 and 8 are in the BM. A piece of 4, however, seems to have survived. The surviving slabs show a scene of a luxuriant garden with palms alternating with conifers around which vines twine and great lilies rise. This scene was apparently carved on both sides of the room. On one side walk beardless priests or women musicians, two wearing fillets of great round beads, another, a high feather headdress with pendant tassels. The last

figure is accompanied by a tame lion. On the opposite wall, attendants lead hunting mastiffs.

PLATE XIV

ATTENDANTS WITH HOUNDS

MUSICIANS WITH A TAME LION

SLAB 13(?), BM 118915
Height: 42 in; width 40 in (106.7 cm; 101.6 cm)
Attendants leading hounds under palm trees.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 191; *A.S.* p. 74.
SCHAEFER & ANDRAE, *K.A.O.* pl. 533.
STROMMENGER & HIRMER, *F.J.M.* pl. 244.

SLAB 4(?), BM 127370
Height: 17 in; width 10 in (43 cm; 25.5 cm)
Head of female musician(?) and part of tree.
Probably part of slab 4.
Two lyre-players, one a woman wearing a fillet of great beads, the other a youth(?) wearing feather headdress, pass to right beneath palms and cypresses, accompanied by a tame lion. Traces of a third musician remain.

SLAB 5, BM 118916
Height: 66 in; width: 46 in (167.7 cm; 116.9 cm)
GADD, *S.A.* p. 191, pl. 25; *A.S.* p. 74.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 54.
MOORTGAT, *Die Kunst des alten Mesopotamien* p. 106, makes the interesting suggestion that this scene represents the power that music exerts over wild beasts, a kind of Orpheus motif, which is also to be seen on an unfinished *kudurru* from Susa, and that it may be of Iranian inspiration. It is, however, found on pottery from Palestine (Loud, *Megiddo* II (1939), pl. 76) and on a seal from North Syria (Rimmer, *Ancient Musical Instruments in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the British Museum*, fig. 6 and pl. VIIIa).

The flowering lily on this relief is very closely paralleled in engraved scenes on Phoenician bowls e.g. PERROT & CHIPIEZ III, figs. 544, 548.

PLATE XV Room E (continued)

LION AND LIONESS IN A GARDEN

SLABS 7 and 8, BM 118914
Slab 7. Height: 38 in; width: 35 in (96.5 cm; 89 cm)
Slab 8. Height: 30 in; width: 35 in (76.3 cm; 89 cm)
PLACE, *N.A.* III, 52 bis.
HALL, *B.&A.S.* pl. LV.
FRANKFORT, *A.A.A.O.* pl. 108a.
GADD, *A.S.* p. 74.
UNGER, *A.&B.K.* figs. 83, 84.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 55.
STROMMENGER & HIRMER, *F.J.M.* pl. 245.
Restorations: Slab 7—top of tree; shoulder of lioness; bunch of grapes; parts of lily at left edge of slab.

ROOM F

THE SUSIANA ROOM

This was a small square room entered only from Room G but having a large niche or recess in the North-West wall (occupied by slabs 11–13). It has been suggested by Reade that it was used as a bathroom and lavatory, Rassam having found during a later excavation a 'large sewer built of moulded bricks, representing Assyrian figures, which evidently belonged formerly to an ancient building.' This is one of very few references to previous buildings on the site. In our view, however, it seems more likely that this was a small domestic shrine of some kind, as would seem indicated by the recess. The doorway was flanked by two slabs with large apotropaic figures. Slabs 1–10 and 14–15 were decorated with historical reliefs in two registers: the upper register shows the assault and capture of the Elamite city of Hamanu and the exodus of prisoners from it: the lower register shows the counter-march of prisoners and counting of the booty. The doorjambs were decorated with two slabs illustrated each with an identical pair of demonic figures, the lion-headed man and the bearded man with horned helmet. They faced towards Room G. The necks, ruffs, eyelids, and gums of the lion-men were originally painted red.

The niche contained scenes of apotropaic figures. Rassam relates that each side was formed by 'a bas-relief divided horizontally into two compartments, representing in the upper part a human figure with a lion's head and eagle's feet, while in the lower there was a human-headed lion, with its paws stretched out as if in the act of supplication. At the back of the recess was a sculpture representing a most hideous lion-headed monster with extended jaws, the tail of a scorpion and the feet of an eagle; resembling very much those monsters found by Sir Henry Layard at the Nimroud Temple near the Pyramid' (see Layard, *N.&B.* p. 348).

In a letter to Rawlinson dated 5 January 1854 (*T.P.*), it is said that the slabs are 7 feet 4 inches high. In another letter to Rawlinson dated 19 January 1854 from Mosul he writes that he has cleared out this room, and found over one of the kings a seven-line inscription in cuneiform, half of the lines much broken, the other half defaced.[1] In the same room he states that he found 'another castle attacked by Assyrians, the epigraph on it being quite defaced.' This could have been Slab 15. In the same letter he says the head of the monster in the niche was much damaged by water.

In his letter written to Layard on 30 January 1854 (see above) he writes 'Since I wrote to you last we discovered 4 new chambers (one of which with sculpture quite entire)[2] and the others have been stripped more or less of their sculptures which have been made lime of, or moved to some other part of the mound. In this chamber where the sculptures are almost entire the king is represented twice marching in his chariot and there are two castles besieged by the Assyrians, on one of which there are two lines of perfect inscriptions which I have copied and sent to Colonel Rawlinson. On the eastern side, there are two windows or recesses cut out of the upper part of the slabs like those you found at Nimroud. Over one of the kings, there are seven lines of inscription half of which are unfortunately broken and the other half very much defaced.'[3] He then states these were about 4 feet below the surface. He also describes the colossal figures flanking the doorway. The pavement slabs of all entrances so far found, he adds, are 'very beautifully ornamented'.

Under the eye of the king or his general in his chariot, Assyrian archers and Lachishite auxiliaries shoot from behind screens at the Elamite city of Hamanu, which bears an inscription (see below).

It has two rows of turreted walls, which some soldiers are undermining while others escalade the walls. Below it is a stream filled with dead bodies, and before and behind is a plantation of millet in which Elamites are escaping and hiding. Beyond it, to the right, the men and women are led out as captives towards the king in his chariot (slab 15).

The upper part of the slabs on either side of the city of Hamanu have been cut away, evidently in antiquity, for the Revd. Lobdell found them already missing at the time of his visit (see above, p. 14 and below, pp. 30–1), and thought them windows. They are probably ventilation-shafts. But they abruptly break the scene on slabs 2 and 3.

Slabs 10 and 14 (–15) are described by Lobdell as depicting 'a band of warriors on the bank of a river, across which semi-circular boats are ferrying them, quite similar to those used on the Nile in the days of Pharaoh and Herodotus. . . six ribs of wood or bundles of reeds are bound together by eight hands, and one would never think of calling them boats, were they not on a river and moved by rowers.'
For general accounts of this room see
RASSAM, *A.L.N.* p. 32.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 196.
READE, *Iraq*.

PLATE XVI Room F (North-West and North-East walls)

(a) THE KING CONDUCTS THE ASSAULT OF THE ELAMITE CITY OF HAMANU

(b) THE KING RECEIVES PRISONERS FROM ANOTHER CITY

Scene in two registers. Above, Assyrian soldiers assaulting the Elamite city while

[1] This 7-line inscription is lost, unless perhaps by it is meant the 6-line inscription on slab 15 (plate XXI) or the 6-line inscription describing Bit-luppi (below p. 64). The inscription on Slab 15 can be seen from the drawing on plate XXI, though defaced, to have consisted only of 6 lines but not to be identical with the Bit-luppi text, as far as can be judged from the remains of the signs seen by Boutcher.
[2] i.e. Rooms F, G, H, I. See above, Introduction, pp. 14–15.
[3] This account evidently describes Room F. The two-line epigraph is that on slab 3 (pl. XVII); on the other of seven lines see note 1.

Elamites hide in marshes by a river. Below, the king in his chariot with his attendants awaits the prisoners.

SLAB 1, BM 124929
Height: 90 in; width: 59 in (228.6 cm; 149.9 cm)
This slab formed a right angle at the corner of the room.

SLAB 2, BM 124930
Height: 90 in; width: 62 in (228.6 cm; 157.5 cm)
This slab has a large area in upper register missing, perhaps cut out as a window or ventilation shaft (see above pp. 30–31, 39).

PLATE XVII Room F (continued) (North-East wall)

(a) THE ASSAULT OF HAMANU AND THE EXODUS OF PRISONERS. ELAMITES HIDING IN THE MARSHES

(b) COUNTING OF PRISONERS AND BOOTY

SLAB 3, BM 124931
Height: 90 in; width 85 in (228.6 cm; 215.9 cm)
GADD, *S.A.* p. 196.
YADIN, *A.W.B.L.* fig. 448 (colour).
Inscription of two lines in cuneiform:
^{uru}ḫa-ma-nu URU LUGAL-u-ti šá KUR NIM.MA^{ki}
al-me KUR-ud áš-lu-la šal-lat-su
'The city of Hamanu, a royal city of the land of Elam, I besieged, I conquered, its booty I carried off.'
STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* II, p. 318 ᵏ

SLAB 4, BM 124932
Height: 90 in; width 95 in (228.6 cm; 241.3 cm)
These slabs also have a square area missing in the upper register as in slab 2.

PLATE XVIII Room F (continued) (South-East wall)

(a) THE EXODUS OF PRISONERS. ELAMITE WOMEN HIDING IN THE MARSHES

(b) THE PRISONERS MARCHED AWAY

SLAB 5, BM 124933
Height: 90 in; width: 41 in (228.6 cm; 104.2 cm)

SLAB 6, BM 124934
Height: 90 in; width: 44 in (228.6 cm; 111.8 cm)
GADD, *S.A.* p. 196.

PLATE XIX Room F (continued) (South-East wall)

HAMANU: THE EXODUS OF PRISONERS

Above: the procession of prisoners continuing to the right.
Below: the procession of prisoners continuing to the left.

SLAB 7, BM 124935
Height: 90 in; width 45 in (228.6 cm; 114.3 cm)

SLAB 8, BM 124936
Height: 90 in; width: 48 in (228.6 cm; 122 cm)

SLAB 9, BM 124937
Height: 90 in; width: 42 in (228.6 cm; 106.7 cm)

PLATE XX Room F (continued) (South-West Wall)

THE EXODUS OF PRISONERS
GUARDIAN FIGURES

Slabs 10 and 14 continued the scene of evacuation of prisoners and the escape of some into the marshes, the series being interrupted by the recess consisting of slabs 11–13.

The Revd. J. Lobdell describes the central slab of the niche (12) as depicting a lion-headed monster with open jaws, scorpion's tail and eagle's feet; the two side panels consisted of a lion-headed, eagle-footed monster and a helmeted lion-centaur.

SLAB 10, rephotographed 1965 from a very faded photograph (1854?) Or. Dr. VII 3. (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio). Original lost.
Annotated: 'North Palace chamber F'.
This photograph shows the slab still in the ground. At the right is the edge of slab 11. Below it is a drawing by Miss M. M. Howard (1969) of the parts of the relief visible in the photograph. This and the other photographs on plate XXXVI are among the earliest known examples of the use of photography for archaeological purposes. See preface, p. xi.

SLAB 11, Drawing by W. Boutcher (No. 4 in the Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio). Now Or. Dr. VII 4. Original partly lost.
Height: 13⅞ in; width: 9¾ in (35.3 cm; 24.8 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik Chamber F; No. 13 is the same subject reversed but much more dilapidated.'
Pencil drawing with touches of white.

SLAB 13, the lower part, Musée de l'Œuvre Pontificale de la Propagation de la foi, Lyons
Height: 27½ in; width: 34½ in (70 cm; 87 cm)
Showing a human-headed lion; it bears a line of cuneiform on its back. The late Dr C. J. Gadd informed me 'This inscription confirms that it is the figure of a "lion-man" *UR.MAH.LÚ.U$_X$.LU*, for, according to the ritual direction, there is written upon him *ta-par-ri-ik SAG.ḪUL.HA.ZA* "you shall bar out the supporter of the evil head" (a demon)': principal text in EBELING, *Keilschrifttexten aus Assur Religiösen Inhalts*, no. 298, rev. 15; other refs. and suggestion about the demon's name in OPPENHEIM, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, p. 263.

SLAB 14, rephotographed 1965 from a very faded photograph (1854?) Or. Dr. VII 5 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio).
Drawing by Miss M. M. Howard (1969) of parts visible in the photograph.
In two registers, continues the scene of evacuation of prisoners.

Fragments of Slab 14:
a. *Vatican, 14990* (former 1)
Height: 10 in; width: 11 in (26 cm; 28 cm)
Fragment showing prisoners with an Assyrian guard in a boat.
From Mosul, acquired for Pope Pius IX by G. Bennhi, 1855.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*^{2} p. 20, fig. 18; *R.A.K.*^{1} p. 224, no. 6.
MEISSNER, 'Ein Relief Assurbanipals mit einer Darstellung aus dem Elamischen Feldzuge', *M.A.O.G.* VIII, 2, p. 32, where it is wrongly assigned to join the pieces in Room G.
DESCEMET, pp. 105–6.
MARRUCCHI, p. 333, no. 6.

b. *Louvre AO 19923*
Height: 17¾ in; width: 15 in (49 cm; 38 cm)
Showing Elamites, some hiding in the reeds and others carried off in boats.

c. *Leningrad 7389*
Height: 6⅞ in; width: 8 1/16 in (17.5 cm; 20.5 cm)
Fragment showing three Elamites cowering in a reed boat moving to right. The foremost holds a bow. At the left is part of a figure on land(?). This fragment appears to belong to the left-hand side of Slab 14, but as the area is shown in the photograph in deep shadow the attribution can therefore only be conjectural.

PLATE XXI Room F (continued) (North-West Wall)

THE SURRENDER OF HAMANU
GUARDIAN FIGURES

Slab 15 is now lost except for fragments; it showed the beginning of the scenes continued on slabs 10 and 14. Above: evacuation of prisoners under the eye of the king in his chariot, in front of whom were the remains of a (now lost) 6 line cuneiform inscription. Below: the assault of a city beside the river, again under the eye of the king or his general.

SLAB 15, represented by a drawing by W. Boutcher. Or. Dr. VII 6 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 13½ in; width: 17 in (34.3 cm; 43.2 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber F'.
Pencil touched with white on light brown paper.

Fragments of Slab 15
a. *Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 21.6*
Height: 10 9/16 in; width: 8 in (26.9 cm; 20.3 cm)
Assyrian soldier holding up shield, attacking city with dagger.

b. *Rome, Barracco 57* (former 7)
Height: 19 in; width: 11 in (48.5 cm; 28 cm)
Fragment showing three bowmen (two are fragmentary) shooting left.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.* p. 47, fig. 41; *R.A.K.*^{3} p. 123, fig. 41.

c. *Louvre AO 2254, formerly 27368*
Height: 20¾ in; width: 17⅜ in (53 cm; 44 cm)
Presented by M. Jules Maclet (1892). Fragment showing bearded officer holding wheel of chair, with two youthful courtiers holding fans behind.
POTTIER, *A.A.* no. 79.

d. *Durham University, Museum of Oriental Art and Archaeology*
Height: 16 in; width: 39 in (40.6 cm; 99 cm)
Possibly from the same series. Part of slab showing Assyrian soldiers with wicker shields and spears, dislodging Elamites hiding in the marshes.

SLABS 2 and 1, Doorway (a), Drawings by W. Boutcher, Or. Dr. VII 8, 7 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 14 in; width: 12½ in (35 cm; 31.7 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, entrance to Chamber F.' On each lintel is a pair of guardian figures; in each case a helmeted man with equine ears holding mace, left hand raised, fist clenched.
Pencil touched with white on brownish paper.

ROOM G

The decoration of this room evidently also illustrated the defeat of Elamites in the marshes. Slabs 3–5 only were drawn. The missing parts of slabs 4–5 evidently were occupied by the siege and assault of a city; below was the procession of captive Elamites accompanied by reed boats.

PLATE XXII

ELAMITE PRISONERS FROM A CITY BY THE RIVER

SLABS 3–5, Drawing by W. Boutcher, Or. Dr. VII 9 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 11¾ in; width: 16 in (29.9 cm; 40.6 cm).
Pencil touched with white on brown paper.
READE, *Iraq*, pl. 1b.
Slabs 4–5 are represented by:

SLAB 4, Louvre AO 22202
Height: 32½ in; width: 32¾ in (82 cm; 83 cm)
Relief in two registers. Above: Elamites marching out with bags on their shoulders, accompanied by others in reed boats.
DE CLERCQ, *Catalogue*, Vol. II, pl. XXII, No. 24.

SLAB 5, Istanbul, No. 1001
Height: 38 in; width: 52 in (96.5 cm; 132 cm)
The same continued to right: captives are descending into a reed boat, and followed by Assyrian soldiers carrying severed heads; another reed boat follows.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 227 (where it is incorrectly ascribed to Room F).
PATERSON, *P.S.* pl. 92.
MEISSNER, 'Ein Relief Assurbanipals, mit einer Darstellung aus dem Elamischen Feldzuge', *Beitr. z. altor. Archäologie, M.A.O.G. VIII*, 1934, p. 32, who first joined this to slab 4.

SLAB 6,(?) Istanbul No. 29
Height: 13⅜ in; width: 17 in (34 cm; 43 cm)
A fragment, possibly from this room, shows decapitated bodies beside a stream. It seems likely that it formed part of the continuation of the grisly scenes of slab 5.
GADD, *op. cit.*

ROOM H

For the discovery of this Room see introduction p. 14. This long room, according to Rassam some 60 feet long, originally illustrated Elamites commonly thought to be fleeing from the terror of the battle. According to Rassam only three slabs survived. But the plans show that, of twelve slabs found in the room, only 7, 8 and 9 were preserved and brought home to the British Museum, all others being described as 'broken bases' (yellow) except 11–12, which were accordingly described in the first plan as 'more or less perfect' (red). This verdict was later altered in plan 2 to 'ruined and valueless' (yellow). The upper halves of slabs BM 124938–9 show a city with triple walls and a palace above, its entrance flanked by sphinxes and lions supporting the bases of columns. It lies by a park, kept fresh with watercourses among which is situated a pavilion with pillars having proto-Corinthian or double proto-Ionic columns, probably a *bīt ḫilāni*. Before it stand a royal stele and an altar. Below are Elamites, hastening to the battle between two streams. Some ride in carts. The problem naturally arises to ask what is the city and what is the part here represented with its kiosk of western type. J. E. Reade has acutely observed (*Iraq* XXVI, p. 6) that the illustrations of Room I adjacent to this room formed an alternative version of the great illustrations of the battle scenes on the bank of the river Ulai that Ashurbanipal introduced into Room XXXIII of Sennacherib's palace. It would seem probable that Room H also contained part of the same scenes near the Ulai battlefield. The city shown in H might possibly thus represent Susa, less probably Babylon. But, as the scenes in the upper and lower halves of reliefs usually move in contrary directions, it is much more likely that it represents the culmination of a procession of triumph at Arbela or Nineveh and even illustrates Sennacherib's own palace with its *bīt ḫilāni* (see above pp. 5, 6, 18) in which Ashurbanipal once took particular delight. On the bronze gates of Ashurnasirpal from Balawat (unpublished), whenever a city with gates flanked by male sphinxes is depicted it always represents a city from which the Assyrian king emerges i.e. an Assyrian city. We may even reasonably guess that on BM 124938 we see a view of Sennacherib's 'Palace without a rival' with its *bīt ḫilāni* in the Syrian manner, a stele, and altar commemorating the murdered monarch and the gardens fed by the splendid aqueduct with pointed arches still surviving at Jerwan.[1] Reade's arguments for re-arranging Gadd's proposed arrangement of the surviving sculptures in Room H are possible, though the stream at the bottom of 124939 does not in fact come to an abrupt end at the right as he suggests. It is to be noted that 124940 is complete in itself and formed an angle at the right. This position only fits slab 7, though the plan (probably erroneously) shows 7 as somewhat broader than 124939. But 124939 is complete in itself, and consists really of two slabs, not one. It probably therefore represents slabs 8–9, while 124938 must be part of slab 10, trimmed on both sides.

PLATE XXIII

A TRIPLE-WALLED CITY AMONG GARDENS
(perhaps Nineveh or Arbela)

ELAMITES HASTENING TO THE BATTLE

SLAB 7, BM 124940
Height: 52 in; width: 28 in (132 cm; 71 cm)
Relief showing scene of Elamites on foot and in carts moving right in three registers below a horizontal dividing line above which are conifers. Top broken. This is a corner slab, complete in itself.
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 196–7.
READE, *Iraq*, pp. 5, 11, 13.

SLABS 8 and 9(?), BM 124939 (a and b)
Height: 82 in; width: 73 in (208.3 cm; 185.5 cm)
Scene in four registers; above middle horizontal band, a wooded hill with irrigation canals fed from an aqueduct. One crosses a path, leading to a stele of a king, before which stands an altar. Beyond it in the woods is a pavilion with columns having Corinthian capitals and cushion bases. Below the horizontal line are three rows of Elamites hastening to right.
RAWLINSON, *F.G.M.* I, p. 310.
HALL, *B.&A.S.* pl. XLIII.
FRANKFORT, *A.A.A.O.* pl. 106.
GADD, *op. cit.* pp. 196–7.
READE, *loc. cit.*

SLAB 10(?), BM 124938
Height: 76 in; width: 47 in (193 cm; 119.4 cm)
Relief in four registers, showing in upper half, city beside a river with triple walls enclosing a central palace (evidently Assyrian) the entrance flanked by columns with lion bases and bases formed of male sphinxes or *lamassū*. Probably Nineveh or Arbela is meant (see above). Below, three registers showing Elamites hastening to right in chariots or on foot.
HALL, *B.&A.S.* pl. XLII.
STROMMENGER & HIRMER, *F.J.M.* fig. 236.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 136.
READE, *Iraq*, pp. 5, 11, 13.

SLAB 11 or 12(?), Iraq Museum 31071
Height: 16 in; width: 12 in (41 cm; 30 cm)
Another fragment evidently from this room survives perhaps from slab 11 or 12—more likely from slabs 1–5 on the opposite wall, as the movement is from right to left, not as in the remaining slabs from left to right. Fragment showing Elamites hastening in chariot to left followed by horseman. For another possible piece from this slab showing two Elamite horsemen, see below pl. LXXII (aa) and p. 62.

[1] T. JACOBSEN and S. LLOYD, *Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwan*, Chicago 1935, Or. Inst. Pub. XXII.

ROOM I

For the discovery of this room see above, introduction pp. 14–15. The reliefs (1–4) which formerly flanked the North-West wall of this small entrance or court are lost save for a fragment of slab 1.

A series of drawings records the now almost wholly lost series of reliefs flanking the North-West corner (slabs 5–10) and the north wall of the room. They show in their lower half (as Reade has pointed out) a kind of rough draft or alternative version of the Ulai battle, different from that executed in so grandiose a manner in Room XXXIII of Sennacherib's palace.[1] In the upper register we see Ashurbanipal's triumphant procession advancing slowly to right to enter a quadruple-walled city, on the summit of which stands a temple. Here the king may be seen attending at a ritual before a pair of divine standards, beneath which lies a severed head, presumably of the king's enemy, Te-umman of Elam. The city's name is written in cuneiform on its walls, but is very hard to read. Attempts have been made to read it (incorrectly) as the name of Dēr or Babylon, but it must be Arbela, whither Ashurbanipal records that he repaired with Te-umman's head accompanied by his royal prisoners, and after giving thanks to the goddess Shatri, celebrated the *akītu* festival, taking the reins of Ishtar's chariot. This is recorded on a draft epigraph designed for a sculpture, perhaps this very one. (WEIDNER, *A.B.K.R.A.* p. 185 no. 34, which presumably also refers to a surrender scene such as that depicted on plate LX, top register.)

On the lower register the battle rages across and beside the river, but is followed by the surrender of the enemy before a city with a *ziggurat*, on the top of which are gigantic bull's horns, suggesting an Elamite temple, possibly Susa. On another tower, three figures offer surrender. Dr. P. Calmeyer has, however, suggested to me that if these slabs 5–10 rehearse the scenes of the Ulai Battle, then the apparently Elamite city with a *ziggurat* should be Madaktu, shown as the surrendering city in the great battle scenes in the Palace of Sennacherib.

Rassam writes, 30 January 1854 to Layard, describing this room: 'In another room there is represented the Assyrian army marching with numerous prisoners to a very large city with a wide river, and a canal running round it. In this same room were found two slabs with some inscriptions on them. The first have three long lines inscribed over a tent in which there are some persons and human heads with a scribe holding a clay tablet in his hand. The other epigraph contains four lines in a better preservation than the first. These are inscribed over a man (apparently of some dignity) who is in the act of being beheaded by an Assyrian officer!' The first sentence evidently describes Room I. In the last it is possible that Rassam refers to Room I and the beheading of Ituni, or to the similar de Clercq fragment (plate XXIV). But the first of these two inscribed slabs is lost and quite unknown. (See above, pp. 14–15.)

The Revd. J. Lobdell also (*J.A.O.S.* IV, p. 480) describes them: 'A broken slab within [the entrance, i.e. Room I] represents the king seated under a tent before which women stand with suppliant countenances and hands. Above the tent are inscribed three lines about two feet in length, doubtless making mention of the victor and the victory.' Again, there is no surviving trace of this relief, as we have said.

In a letter dated 19 January, from Mosul, Rassam supplies Rawlinson with a similar account of these reliefs. He adds, however, some fresh points about the doorway reliefs of Room I: 'We have found two entrances to this room facing the north-west; the first is formed by a pair of human-headed figures with their extremities being that of a lion. The other entrance is formed by two pairs of colossal figures. The fish god in front and behind it there is a monster with legs of a bull. These sculptures are so much destroyed that nothing but the legs are visible. The pavement slabs of these entrances are very beautifully ornamented.' A drawing of the monster with legs of a lion survives. (See below, pl. XXVI and p. 43.)

Lobdell, *ibid.*, described this slab as illustrating 'a peculiar monster; he has half the body and feet of a lion (guarding the entrance) and the head and upper extremities of a man, his right hand grasping a gigantic spear.'

As stated already, the sculptures of this room can be shown to have duplicated in the lower register in a more formalized version the great scenes of the Ulai battle in Room XXXIII of Sennacherib's palace: and it is reasonable to assume that slabs 1–4, now almost totally lost, illustrated the same theme. (Boutcher's plan shows 1–4 as red, i.e. then more or less perfect.) The upper register showed the triumphant entry into Arbailu (Arbela). In this room Rassam found bricked up in the wall two clay cylinders bearing annals of Ashurbanipal.

[1] For illustrations see PATERSON, *P.S.* pls. 68–70.

PLATE XXIV

AN ASSYRIAN EXECUTING AN ELAMITE OFFICER, ITUNI, ON THE BATTLEFIELD

Part of Slab 1, BM 124941
Height: 27 in; width: 33 in (68.6 cm; 83.8 cm)
An Assyrian soldier on the battlefield about to cut off the head of an Elamite officer named Ituni. Above and beside them are dead bodies, one gnawed by a vulture which pecks out its eyes. There are traces of feet moving to right in the upper register.
The inscription reads:

1 ^{m}I-tu-ni-i LÚ šu-ut SAG $^{(m)}$Te-um-man LUGAL KUR NIM.MA^{ki}
2 šá ir-ḫa-niš iš-tap-pa-raš-šú a-di IGI-ia
3 ta-ḫa-zi dan-nu e-mur-ma ina GÍR AN.BAR šib-bi-šú
4 ^{giš}BAN si-mat Á^{II}-šu ik-si-ma ŠU^{II} a-ma-ni-[šú].

'Ituni, the general of Te-umman, (the) king of Elam (2), whom he had sent to my presence impudently (3) saw the mighty battle and with his iron dagger (4) cut with his own hands (his) bow, the ornament of his hands.'
STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* II, p. 314 ε.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 197, pl. 27.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 128.
Possible additional fragments from this room are two, formerly in the de Clercq collection, viz.

a. *Louvre A.O. 22201*
Height 12¼ in; width: 12½ in (31 cm; 32 cm)
Assyrian soldier holding reed shield, moving to the left to fell an Elamite bowman.
DE CLERCQ, *Cat.* II, pl. XXI, p. 138.

b. *Louvre A.O. 22199*
Height: 14½ in; width: 12¾ in (37 cm; 31 cm)
Scene amid bushes of an Assyrian bowman with bow across shoulders about to cut off a falling man's head with a dagger.
DE CLERCQ, *Cat.* II, pl. XX, p. 137.
For another possible fragment from this room see below plate LXXI, fragment (q).

PLATE XXV Room I (continued)

PROCESSIONS OF PRISONERS TO THE CITY OF ARBELA

THE BATTLE OF THE ULAI RIVER, BESIDE A CITY WITH A ZIGGURAT

SLABS 5–6, Drawing by W. Boutcher, Or. Dr. VII 11 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 12 in; width: 10¾ in (30.5 cm; 27.3 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber 1'.
Shows slab 5 and part of 6.
Pencil touched with white on greenish grey paper.
At slab 5/6 was a right-angle corner of the room, after which came the run of 7–10.
A fragment of slab 5 has been recognized in the Barracco Museum, Rome, by Reade, as belonging to the second led horse from the left-hand edge in the upper register.

Fragment (a), Rome, Barracco Museum 51 (former 3; from the Gréau collection).
Height: 12¼ in; width: 8¼ in (31 cm; 21 cm)
Fragment showing Assyrian grooms leading horses to the right.
FRÖHNER, *Cat. de la Coll. Gréau*, no. 1282.
BOSON, p. 28 ff.
BARRACCO-HELBIG, p. 18, pl. XV. 1.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*[3] pp. 118–9.
READE, *Iraq*, p. 11.

SLAB 7 Or. Dr. VII. 12
Height: 12 in; width: 10 in (30.5 cm; 25.4 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber 1'.
Shows part of slab 6 and slab 7.
Pencil touched with white on greenish grey paper.
READE, *Iraq*, pl. IIIa and IIIb.
Slab 8 is completely lost and no record exists of it.

SLAB 9, Drawings by W. Boutcher, Or. Dr. V 1, A and B
Height: 14 in; width: 10½ in (35.5 cm; 26.7 cm)
Annotated: '(a) walled city, with part of surrounding moat; two figures before an altar.'
'(b) to right, temple built in four stages on the top of which are two bulls' horns; to left, tower on which three figures; below, river.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber I (1/12th full size)'.
As the actual area depicted is 8 inches by 5 inches, it thus was originally 8 feet by 5 feet (244 cm; 152.5 cm)
Pencil touched with white on light yellow-brown paper (see also pl. XXVI).

B Upper part only (not illustrated)
Height: 11¾ in; width: 14½ in (29.8 cm; 36.8 cm)
Annotated: 'Upper tier of preceding slab (a) drawn large', also (in Boutcher's hand): 'Upper portion of slab 9', 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber I (1/6th full size)'.
Pencil touched with white on light yellow-brown paper.
These drawings, as Gadd points out, seem to have been extracted from the portfolio (the rest of which was deposited in the Royal Asiatic Society) and were preserved among the BM's collection of drawings. This was not noticed by Mr Reade (p. 11).
GADD, *S.A.* pl. 28, p. 207.
For the surviving upper part (Louvre AO 19914) see below.

SLABS 9–10 Drawing by W. Boutcher, Or. Dr. VII 14
The lower part only of slab 9 without the upper register, with continuation of scene to right showing lower part of slab 10 showing springs and pools.
READE, *Iraq*, pl. IVa.
Partly reproduced in *Assyrian Excavation Fund, Second Report*, p. 10, fig. 5 (Appendix to GADD, *S.A.*); here p. 75.
RAWLINSON, *F.G.M.* I. Second edition p. 314.
SMITH, *Chaldaean Account of Genesis*, p. 164.

Louvre AO 19914
Height: 48 in; width: 44⅛ in (122 cm; 112 cm)
Upper part of slab 9, showing a city by a river (Arbela) with four circuits of walls. On the walls a sacrifice is taking place before a table and two standards. The king (left) holds a bow and pours a libation(?) over a human head, presumably that of Te-umman. Before him stand two officers.
Inscription: ^{uru}*Arba-ilu* (city of Arbela)
GADD, *loc. cit.*, suggests reading it as Dēr, but this is incorrect (see p. 15).
POTTIER, *A.A.* no. 73.
RASSAM, *A.L.N.* p. 34.
PLACE, *N.&A.*, III, pl. 41.
PATERSON, *P.S.* pl. 110.
MASPERO, *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient* III p. 562.
DIEULAFOY, *Acropole de Suse* p. 195, fig. 92.
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 206–7.
Inscription: UNGER, *R.A.* I, p. 142.

PLATE XXVI

Room I (continued)

(a) CITY OF ARBELA (detail)

(b) SURRENDER OF A CITY WITH A ZIGGURAT
GUARDIAN FIGURE
ENLARGED PART OF SLAB 9 (see plate XXV)

(a) *Drawing by W. Boutcher (enlarged)*: *Or. Dr. V 1*, showing slab 9 (see above plate XXV)
(b) *Louvre AO 19914 (enlarged)* (see above, plate XXV)

Doorway (a) slab 1
Drawing by W. Boutcher, Or. Dr. VII 10 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik. Doorway (a), Chamber I. The head is restored (from the upper crack) from the upper bas relief (No. 2), which is very much dilapidated.' 'N.B. The small fragment at the upper righthand corner is wanting in both bas-reliefs.'
Figure of a divinity the upper part in human form, bearded, wearing headdress with trefoil(?) and triple horns, the lower part that of a lion: he holds a crescent(?) mounted on a pole. There is, however, a possibility that it should be restored as a spear.
Pencil enhanced with white.
READE, *Iraq* pl. II and p. 5.

PLATE XXVII

DECORATED FLOOR SLABS FROM THE ENTRANCES

In addition to the wall reliefs, some floor slabs survive. Colonel Rawlinson's letter of advice to the Trustees, from Baghdad, dated 13 April 1854, giving the invoice of those slabs sent home, quotes as item 31 'ornamented pavement, entrance B', item 32 'ornamented pavement, entrance C (4 pieces)', item 33 'ornamented pavement, entrance D (one piece)'. (*T.P.* vol. L; see GADD, *S.A.*, pp. 106–7)

Unfortunately, it does not seem possible to identify the four pieces said to be from entrance (c), the span of which was about 13 feet. GADD, *S.A.*, p. 198, evidently considers that 124962, a large slab broken in three pieces, represents it.

It is probable, however, that the following two pieces, BM 124943/4, came with it and form three out of the four allegedly from entrance (c) but they are definitely not parts of 124962. They are, as Gadd says, from opposite corners of the same threshold. It was of unusually narrow depth, of a width now no longer ascertainable.

Drawing by W. Boutcher, Or. Dr. V 59
Height: 14 in; width: 19½ in (35.5 cm; 49.5 cm)
Annotated: 'Kouyunjik pavement. North Palace. 1½ in to a foot.'
Ink and wash on white paper.

Louvre, AO 19915
Height: 49 in; width: 82 in (125 cm; 208 cm)
Complete pavement slab from a doorway, carved as a carpet with corners cut to admit gates, and central rectangular cavity for bolt.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 207.
POTTIER, *A.A.* no. 74.
PERROT & CHIPIEZ, 2, p. 251, fig. 96; p. 319, fig. 135 (where this piece is said erroneously to be from Khorsabad[1]).
PLACE, *N.&A.* III, pl. 49/1, p. 151.

BM 118910
Height: 43 in; width: 62½ in (109 cm; 159 cm)
Another pavement slab with more elaborate decoration, from either entrance (b) or (d).
HALL, *B.&A.S.* pl. LVI.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 189.

Baghdad, Iraq Museum, 67945
Height: 36¼ in; width: 24 in (92 cm; 61 cm)
Apparently a piece of the same pavement slab as BM 118910.

BM 118913
Height: 49 in; width: 49½ in (125 cm; 126 cm)
Fragment of a pavement slab from a gateway carved as a carpet, from either entrance (b) or entrance (d).
PATERSON, *P.S.* pl. 102(2).
GADD, *S.A.* p. 190; *A.S.* pp. 12, 73.

BM 124943
Height: 35 in; width: 31 in (89 cm; 78.7 cm)
Another.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 198.

BM 124944
Height: 34 in; width: 30 in (86 cm; 76.3 cm)
Fragment of threshold slab showing semi-circular recess for door post: ornamented with border above, of lotus and buds; below, of palmettes, enclosing quatrefoil patterns of pine cones in square frames surrounded by rosettes.

BM 124962
Height: 97 in; width: 120 in (246 cm; 304.6 cm)
Ornamented pavement slab with double border of palmettes, rosettes and quatrefoil pine-cone patterns, framed with rosettes.
RAWLINSON, *F.G.M.* p. 279.

COURTYARD J

This series shows the surviving drawings of the sculptures which formerly ornamented the North-West and North-East walls of Courtyard J, the inner courtyard of the palace.

The plan shows that slabs 1 and 2 on a slightly projecting buttress were 'virtually destroyed': they may have shown Assyrians advancing against (a city in?) the marshes. Slabs 3 to 8 show the consequences of the battle in the marshes, probably of Southern Mesopotamia, from which prisoners and booty are afterwards led off in three registers moving to right. At 8 came the corner; then slab 9 held a scene of the king in his chariot receiving the prisoners, facing them to left. A drawing of the king alone survives from this slab.

The subject of slabs 3–8 of Courtyard J was (as said) the surrender of Babylonian (Chaldaean) tribes, who are represented in three registers moving in a slow and pathetic procession to the right, escorted by Assyrian guards through the palm-groves, carrying their goods on their backs or on carts, with their children and cattle.

Slabs 10–12 may be partly filled in by conjectural allocation of fragments on pl. XXX, concluding with 13, known only from a drawing.

[1] For examples from Khorsabad, see LOUD and ALTMANN, *Khorsabad II* (Chicago 1938), pls. 48 and 66.

PLATE XXVIII

BATTLE IN THE MARSHES AND PRISONERS AND BOOTY LED AWAY TO THE PRESENCE OF THE KING

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 3–4). Or. Dr. VII 15 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 8¼ in; width: 15 in (22 cm; 38.4 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Court J, 3, 4.'
Slab 4 survives in part as Louvre AO 19911, see below pl. XXIX. Pencil touched with white on brown paper.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (Detail of 4). Or. Dr. VII 16 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 12 in; width: 7¾ in (30.5 cm; 19.7 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik. Portion of slab 4. ½ full size.'
Pencil touched with white on brown paper.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 5–6). Or. Dr. VII 18 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 8¾ in; width: 17 in (22 cm; 43 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Court J, 5 & 6.'
Pencil touched with white on brown paper.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 7–8). Or. Dr. VII 19 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 8½ in; width: 14¾ in (22 cm; 37.5 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Court J, 7 & 8.'
Part of 7 survives as Louvre AO 19910 + Vatican 14987; see pl XXIX.
Pencil touched with white on light brown paper.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slab 9, detail). Or. Dr. VII 21 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 20 in; width: 15 in (51 cm; 38.4 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Court J, portion of slab no. 9 (½ full size) restored.'
Pencil touched with white on brown paper.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slab 13). Or. Dr. VII 24 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 7¼ in; width: 12 in (18.5 cm; 30.5 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Court J.'
Pencil touched with white on light brown paper.
Between slabs 9 and 10–17 was the doorway of Room K (see above plate XXXI). It was flanked by two slabs with two figures on each, the man with helmet and the lion-headed, claw-footed man with dagger. In the middle of slab 2 is a keyhole-shaped opening presumably to secure a door or beam. READE, *loc. cit.*, pp. 7–8.

PLATE XXIX Courtyard J (continued)

CHALDAEAN PRISONERS LED AWAY

Slabs 3–8 showed in three registers processions of prisoners moving to right, and were in very broken state. Only the following survive now:

Slab 4, Louvre AO 19911
Height: 47¼ in; width: 50⅜ in (120 cm; 128 cm)
PLACE, *N.A.* III, pl. 65.
POTTIER, *A.A.* no. 69.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 205 who ascribed these slabs incorrectly to Room I. WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*, pp. 156–9, corrected him, joining Vatican 7 to Louvre 68 (see above).
READE, *Iraq.*, pp. 7–8.

SLAB 7, Louvre AO 19910 + Vatican 14987 (former 7)
Height: 47¼ in; width: 74¾ in (120 cm; 190 cm)
Height: 15⅜ in; width: 16½ in (39 cm; 42 cm)
PLACE, *N.A.* III, pl. 63.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 205.
POTTIER, *A.A.* no. 68.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*[2] pp. 222, 223, fig. 15; =*R.A.K.* pp. 18, 19, fig. 15, pp. 155–6, 159, fig. 119.
Encyclopédie TEL II, pls. 24–7.

PLATE XXX Courtyard J (continued)

CHALDAEAN PRISONERS LED AWAY

Probable parts of slabs 10–12 are:
(a) *Rome, Barracco Museum, No. 48* (former 3)
Height: 16⅛ in; width: 15¾ in (41 cm; 40 cm)
Fragment of same, joining next, showing five Chaldaean women prisoners and a child in a palm grove moving to left. Presented by Layard to Mr Sloane, and by him to Mrs Hall.
LAWRENCE, *J.H.S.* XLVI, pl. VII, 1, p. 166 n. 24.
WEIDNER; *R.A.K.*[3] p. 114 and fig. 37 = *R.A.K.* p. 38 and fig. 37.
BARRACCO-HELBIG, p. 19, pl. XVI.
BOSON, pp. 32–3.

(b) *Winnetka (Illinois) U.S.A., James Aldorf Collection*
Fragment showing two Chaldaean women from a procession of prisoners in a palm grove moving to left; joins fragment (a) at left and (c) at right.
Height: 16½ in; width: 6¾ in (42 cm; 17 cm)
From collection of Sir W. Gregory, to whom it is said to have been presented by Sir H. Layard. Sotheby's Sale, 16 July 1962. Catalogue no. 2, frontispiece.
WEIDNER, 'Altorientalische Altertümer in London', *A.f.O.* XX (1963) p. 200, fig. 17a.
Formerly in New York, Royal Athena Galleries, Coll. J. Eisenberg.
EISENBERG, *Art of the Ancient World*, I, Cat. no. 44, December 1965, no. 91.

(c) *Durham: Oriental Museum, no. 1*
Height: 18¼ in; width: 29¼ in (46.3 cm; 74.3 cm)
Formerly in Durham Castle. Procession of Chaldaean prisoners led away to right through palm grove by an Assyrian soldier.
WEIDNER, *A.f.O.* XV, p. 138, fig. 2.
I.L.N 26.8.1950, No. 5810, p. 337.
Another fragment apparently from the same scene, but not immediately joining the above is:

(d) *Toledo Museum, (Ohio) 21.84*
Height: 14¾ in; width: 20¾ in (37.5 cm; 52.7 cm)
Fragment showing procession of Chaldaean prisoners, escorted by an Assyrian soldier. The procession consists of one woman, and three men carrying vessels perhaps of leather and baskets(?), through the palm grove. At the left is the foot of another Assyrian soldier, at the right edge is the hand of another Chaldaean woman. I owe my knowledge of this piece to the kindness of Mme. Muazzez Çığ, of Istanbul Museum, and Mr R. Riefstahl of Toledo Museum.

Two more fragments from the Royal Geographical Society also belong here, probably to a lower register:

(e) *BM* 135203 (*formerly Royal Geographical Society, 5*)
Height: 15¾ in; width: 37⅜ in (40 cm; 94.5 cm)
Slab showing procession of Chaldaean prisoners, some on a mule-drawn cart, moving to left under escort of Assyrian soldiers.
WEIDNER *R.A.K.* pp. 76–7, fig. 66 = *R.A.K.*[4] pp. 296-7, fig. 66.
BARNETT, *G.J.* LXXV, 1959, pp. 14–15, fig. (unnumbered).

(f) *BM* 135201 (*formerly Royal Geographical Society, 6*)
Height: 15¾ in; width: 30⅛ in (40 cm; 78 cm)
Continuing last on right.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.* fig. 67, pp. 76–7; =*R.A.K.*[4] fig. 67, pp. 296–7.
BARNETT, *ibid.*

ROOM K

No sculptures were found in this small room (in fact, it is a passage way forming a right angle from the main Court J), except for the two jambs of the doorway from J which were each ornamented with a pair of genii.

PLATE XXXI

GUARDIANS OF THE DOORWAY

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slab 1). Or. Dr. VII 25 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 12½ in; width: 10 in (31.7 cm; 25.5 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Entrance (a) to Chambers K, J.'
Drawing showing a pair of genii, facing Court J, the bearded man with horned helmet and upraised arm followed by a lion-headed man with equine ears and eagle's feet, as in Room F. Slab 11 has the heads missing.
Pencil touched with white.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slab 2). Or. Dr. VII 26 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 12½ in; width: 10 in (31.7 cm; 35.5 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Entrance (a) to Chambers K, J.'
Two figures as above, with keyhole-shaped opening to hold a beam(?). The right

half of this slab is illustrated as fig. 3 of the Assyrian Excavation Fund's 2nd Report reproduced in GADD, *S.A.* Appendix fig. 3 and here. The description in the report does not, however, tally with the woodcut which has been confused with slabs from the 'Eastern Entrance' Room A (later changed to S).

ROOM L

'THE ARAB ROOM'

Room L also led out of Courtyard J. What remains of its sculptures all illustrates a campaign against Beduin Arabs. On its discovery, see introduction pp. 14–15 above. Slabs 1–7 are lost, and are known only from Boutcher's drawings. Certain of them were assigned to the Louvre but never arrived (see p. 21 above.) Slab 1 was illustrated in the Assyrian Excavation Fund's 2nd Report (GADD, *S.A.*, Appendix, fig. 6). These slabs show the Assyrian chariotry and infantry charging the Arabs, who flee on their camels; on slabs 4–7 the Assyrians are shown cutting down palm trees, presumably of an oasis (as Reade suggests) to which the Arabs have retreated. Between 7 and the doorway were doubtless a few more slabs, now lost. A fragment in Paris may belong here (plate LXXII (ii)).

Of the slabs of the opposite, i.e. on the North-West, wall, 9 was described as 'more or less perfect', 10, 11, 12, and 13 as 'removed to the British Museum', while between 12 and 13 presumably two or more once stood, of which nothing survived at the time of these excavations. The reliefs were all originally in three registers, but much is lost.

Opitz suggested in 1952 that the fragment Vatican 14 (now 14997) continues on the left of BM 124925 (slab 11) and must therefore be part of slab 10. Slab 13, however, if indeed brought to the British Museum, seems to have disappeared entirely, unless, as seems very likely, the fragment at Woburn showing a chariot group pursuing a camel (the feet only remaining) to the left, is part of it. This is more likely than Reade's suggestion (he calls it Wotton Abbey by mistake) that it adjoins 124927 (probably to be identified with slab 9) on the left. The camel's feet on the Woburn Abbey fragment however are not part of the camel on the top right-hand register of BM 124926, (slab 12) as we have to allow space between not merely for a lost foot-soldier, whose shield survives, but also for a whole recumbent Arab, whose arm and part of skull survive. In this case, the space between 12 and 13 was that of a full slab as drawn by Boutcher.

READE, *Iraq*, pp. 8, 9, 11.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 195.
OPITZ, *A.f.O.* VII, pl. 1.

PLATE XXXII

WAR AGAINST THE ARABS

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 1–3). Or. Dr. VII 27 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 8¼ in; width: 16½ in (21 cm; 42 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber I'.
Pencil touched with white on brown paper.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (detail of slab 1). Or. Dr. VII 28 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 15 in; width: 20¼ in (38 cm; 51.5 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber L. Portion of Slab No. 1, ½ full size'.
As the drawing is 9 inches by 13 inches the original was thus 18 inches high, 26 inches wide. Part of this drawing showing slab 1 was reproduced in Assyrian Excavation Fund's 2nd Report, fig. 6.
Pencil touched with white on brownish paper, slightly foxed.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 4–5). Or. Dr. VII 29 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 9½ in; width: 17 in (24 cm; 43 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber L'.
Pencil touched with white on brownish paper.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 4–7). Or. Dr. VII 30 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 7¼ in; width: 13¾ in (18.3 cm; 35 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber L'.
Pencil touched with white on greenish paper.

PLATE XXXIII Room L (continued)

ASSYRIAN SOLDIERS SACKING THE ARAB TENTS

ASSYRIAN CAVALRY, INFANTRY AND CHARIOTS ATTACKING ARABS

SLAB 9, BM 124927
Height: 54 in; width: 64 in (137 cm; 162.6 cm)
Scene showing Assyrian soldiers burning Arab tents and an attack on women, in three registers. In the lowest, the Arab tents are in flames. Much worn.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pls. 114, 116.
OPITZ, *A.f.O.* VII, pl. 11.
YADIN, *A.W.B.L.* fig. 451 (colour).

Fragment of 10, Vatican 14997 (former 14)
Height: 15⅜ in; width: 45½ in (39 cm; 115.5 cm)
Fragment, showing lowest register, with burning tents to which an Assyrian soldier has set fire; outside is a kneeling camel with wounded Arab.
DESCEMET, p. 104.
MARRUCCHI, p. 342 No. 24.
OPITZ, *loc. cit.*
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*² p. 234 No. 17 (fig. 30) = *R.A.K.* p. 30, fig. 30.

SLAB 11, BM 124925
Height: 17 in; width: 59 in (42.5 cm; 150 cm)
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pls. 108–13, 115.

SLAB 12, BM 124926
Height: 56 in; width: 89 in (134.4 cm; 373 cm)
Scenes in three registers showing, from top down:
a. Assyrian infantry and cavalry attacking fleeing Beduin on camels.
b. Similar scene. Beduin shooting with bows from camel back (mounted in pairs) or on ground.
c. Similar scene to last.
PATERSON, *A.S.* pl. LXXIII.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 195.
YADIN, *A.W.B.L.* fig. 450 (colour).

Part of SLAB 13(?), Woburn Abbey 114
Height: 18½ in; width: 24¾ in (47 cm; 63 cm)
Fragment showing Assyrian chariot group pursuing Arabs. Ascribed by Weidner to slab 13.
SMITH, *Catalogue of Sculptures at Woburn Abbey* (1900), p. 56, no. 114.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*² pp. 207, 208, fig. 1 = *R.A.K.* pp. 3–6, fig. 1.
As stated above examination of this and the adjoining slab 12 makes it more probable that, as the edge of slab 12 top row shows a fallen Arab's head, for whose body allowance of space has to be made, the Woburn Abbey fragment belongs at some distance from slab 12 to the right.
For another fragment (subsequently recognized) evidently from this room showing a fallen Arab see pl. LXXII, fragment (ii), and pp. 62–63 below.

ROOM M

'THE BABYLONIAN ROOM'

On the discovery of this room, see introduction p. 16. Rassam in his plan (*A.&.L.N.* opp. p. 36) calls this the 'Babylonian Room'. It was a long room of exceptional size, about 40 feet long and 35 feet wide, entered from Room N or from Room L, but its main approach was from the Greater Inner Courtyard by three doorways. It was indeed most likely the Throne Room of the Palace. Its decoration consisted of reliefs illustrating the great victory over Shamash-shum-ukin, king of Babylon, Sennacherib's 'false brother' (who revolted against him), and included the sack possibly of Hamanu (mostly lost). As Reade points out, this was the only room in the palace to have reliefs illustrating more than one campaign, the second series being Ashurbanipal's Egyptian expedition of 667 or 663 B.C.

Twenty reliefs were observed by the excavators: of these, numbers 2–3, 7, 10, and 11, 15, 16, 18–20 were (according to Boutcher's first map) to have been sent to the Louvre: of 14, 16, 20, and 21, 'only bases' were said to remain; 6 was missing; and 12 and 13 went to the British Museum. The third map describes 5, 10, 11, 15, 16, and 20 as 'ruined and value-

less' and assigned 17 to the British Museum. Of slabs 1–3, stated in plans 1 and 2 to be 'remaining more or less perfect', nothing is known, unless BM 124793 belongs, for the drawing made of 2–3 is lost (or was suppressed). They are alleged by Reade to have been lost in the Tigris, but this is only a guess.

Between slabs 3 and 7 was a lacuna, representing three slabs of which 4 and 6 were not found, and 5 was ruined. But the drawing of 7 shows a scene of a siege on a river bank in hilly country, presumably of a city, now lost (Murubisu?) which stood on slabs 5 and 6; cavalrymen and infantry fire at it from the opposite direction to the procession of royal fugitives, led by Ummanaldas, which precedes on BM 124793. Two fragments, Louvre AO 19912 and 19921, survive of this relief (slab 7).

Slabs 8 and 9 were blank and formed a recess; being opposite the main door, as Reade says, they 'probably had some ritual purpose'. A similar feature, he notes, existed in the equivalent position in the Throne Room at Khorsabad. What more logical conclusion is there to draw in both cases than that the royal throne stood before them in two alternative positions, at the end of the room and before slabs 8–9, each accompanied by a different record of victory? (see above, pp. 29–30).

Then comes a space occupied by two ruined slabs, subject unknown. Then we meet the doorway into Room L. Beyond it a new series began with slabs numbered 10–11. These were 'remaining more or less perfect', according to Boutcher's first map, but by the time of the second, are coloured yellow as being hopelessly ruined. The scenes on slabs 12 and 13 show that they must have formed part of the surrender of Babylon, perhaps showing more of the battle of the Ulai river, and the surrender of Shamash-shum-ukin and the Elamites.

PLATE XXXIV

ASSAULT OF A CITY IN THE MOUNTAINS
SUICIDE OF CHALDAEANS
CAPTURE OF UMMANALDAS
ATTACK ON A CITY

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slab 7). Or. Dr. VII 32 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 14 in; width: 10 in (35.6 cm; 25.5 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber M'.
Similar scenes were shown in the two registers, separated by a horizontal band.

Above: Remains of cavalry bowmen, apparently shooting from the saddle (at an Elamite city, Murubisu?) in rocky country amid bushes.

Below: Cavalry bowmen shooting from the saddle, supported by infantry spearmen and slingers, attacking a city (on slab 6) in rocky hills amid bushes; at the bottom is a small stream with a reed bush beside which are corpses, one staked out for punishment.
Pencil touched with white.
For surviving portions see below, Louvre AO 19921 and 19912. For another possible fragment from here showing a body being flayed, now at Wellesley College, see P. ALBENDA, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 29, (1970), pp. 145–50.

Fragment (a), Louvre AO 19921
Height: 12¼ in; width: 13⅜ in (31 cm; 34 cm)
Fragment of slab 7 above, showing corpse staked out by reed bush.
POTTIER, *A.A.*, no. 81 bis.

Fragment (b), Louvre AO 19912
Height: 50¾ in; width: 44⅞ in (129 cm; 114 cm)
Fragment of slab 7 above, showing scene in rocky ground in two registers.

Above: Infantryman with round shield, followed by three cavalrymen shooting to left followed by slinger.

Below: Infantryman followed by archer and slinger, followed by two cavalrymen, one holding lance, second shooting with bow.
PLACE, *N.&A.*, III, pl. 61.
POTTIER, *A.A.*, no. 71.
Encyclopédie TEL, II, pls. 28–9.

SLABS 10–12 or 14
There exist three possible fragments of slabs 10–11 found 'perfect', later recorded as 'ruined'; they probably showed the preliminaries of the great surrender scene of slabs 12–13.

Fragment (a) Berlin VA 210
Hieght: 19¾ in; width: 15 in (50 cm; 38 cm)
Scene of Chaldaeans in a palm grove; one is surrendering his bow and quiver; two pairs are killing each other.

This is possibly a further piece from this room M. It is not apparently part of Court J, as the treatment of the palm trees is quite different. They are here represented as dwarf palms. This scene of despair would be appropriate in Room M before the scene of complete surrender.
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 217–18.

Fragment (b) Venice, Museo Civico 7 (Deposito Correr 44)
Height: 17¼ in; width: 16½ in (43.8 cm; 41.9 cm)
This fragment is from the top of a relief showing Assyrian soldiers, in hilly country covered with small trees, shooting at (presumably) a city.

Dr Falkner assigns this relief on the strength of details to Ashurbanipal and compares the trees with those on the relief of the siege of Hamanu (Plate LXVI); there, however, the ground is represented by means of cross-hatching as being rocky, whereas here it is smooth. A possibility is that this represents part of slab 7, showing the siege of the city in undulating country, illustrated on pl. XXXIV; on that relief the ground is also cross-hatched.
FALKNER, *R.A.K.*[6] pp. 32–3, fig. 8.

Fragment (b) Marseilles, Musée Borély, 1519
Height: 10¼ in; width: 10¼ in (26 cm; 26 cm)
Fragment showing two bearded Chaldaeans facing right, one holding a quiver, to surrender it, the other raising his hand to ask for quarter while a spear is pointed at his breast.

Fragment (c) BM 135202, (formerly Royal Geographical Society, 4)
Height: 16⅛ in; width: 31⅛ in (41 cm; 79.6 cm)
Chaldaean bowmen escaping to right through a palm grove.
The lively style of this piece and the treatment of the palm fronds (it is more akin to that of Courtyard J) differs noticeably from the previous pieces. From its rough right edge it is clearly at the right-hand edge of a row, and may well have formed part of slab 14 at the end of the projecting buttress; or it may have formed part of slabs 10 and 11, but it is less likely.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*[4] fig. 65, pp. 294–7 = *R.A.K.* pp. 74–7, fig. 65.
BARNETT, *G.J.* CXXV (1959) pp. 14–15, 198 and plate.
The probability is that this piece, formerly owned by Colonel Rawlinson, came from room M, the excavations of which were conducted by Rassam under Rawlinson's aegis.

Parts of Slab 1, 2, 3, or 5?, BM 124793
Height: 29 in; width: 51 in (74 cm; 129.6 cm)
A fragment, found by Rassam in 1886 and very probably to be assigned to this room, is BM 124793, showing Ummanaldas, the defeated king of Elam, being transported to right in a chariot under escort by other Elamites who raise their hands in surrender, as described in the account of Ashurbanipal's eighth campaign. The party travels over rocky ground bearing bushes in which a lioness stalks an ibex. The hills resemble closely the terrain depicted on slab 7, but this piece cannot be part of slabs 8 or 9 as they were blank. Nor is a position in 5 or 6 very likely, though possible, as this should be occupied by the Elamite king's city (Murubisu). The fact that Ummanaldas is brought in before Ashurbanipal who is shown on slabs 12–13 makes it possible that this piece is from slab 10 or 11, but 1, 2, or 3 (found 'more or less perfect') or part of 5, are more likely.
PATERSON, *P.S.* p. 5, pl. 67.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 179; *A.S.* p. 7.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 117.
The inscription (STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* III, p. 836, v; GADD, *S.A.* p. 179) reads:

1 .....]^{giš}KU AN.ŠÁR EN-ia
2 .....]ul-tú KUR-e a-šar mar-qí-ti-šú
3 .....] × ša $^{ur^u}$mu-ru-ú-bi-si
4 .....a]n (?) AN.ŠÁR EN-ia
5 .....^{m}]um-man-al-das iṣ-bat-ma
6 .....]il-qa-áš-šú a-di maḫ-ri-ia

line 4, Gadd proposes to read *ina da-na-a]n*
line 5, *iz-ziz-ma* also possible

(1) '... with the weapon of Ashur, my lord (2) ... from the mountain [which served as] his fodder supply (or: 'refuge'(?)) (3) ... of the town of Murubisu (4) ... with the strength(?) of Ashur my lord (5) ... he seized Ummanaldas (6) ... took him to my presence'.

PLATE XXXV

Room M (continued)

THE KING IN HIS CHARIOT RECEIVING THE SURRENDER OF SHAMASH-SHUM-UKIN

DETAIL OF CENTRAL SCENE SHOWING SURRENDER OF SHAMASH-SHUM-UKIN AND UMMANALDAS

The upper part of 12–13 shows, above a stream, the damaged scene of burning, sack and destruction of an Elamite city among palms and canals (possibly Hamanu, to judge from the peculiar key-shaped door lintel which reappears in that city

on pl. XVII) from which Assyrian soldiers carry booty and drive out prisoners. That the battlefield is not far off, i.e. on the lost portion to the left, is shown by a chariot and bows thrown into the river or canal.

Below this, and below a second river or canal, is the culminating scene, shown in three registers: the uppermost shows in a palm grove the surrender of Shamash-shum-ukin, the king's brother, and courtiers holding his crown and sceptre and wand and followed by his chariot and women. The next register shows the King of Elam surrendering, followed by three lesser princes. Behind them Assyrian officers count the booty of arms and horses. In the lowest row, Chaldaean prisoners are marched off. The king in his chariot facing to left in larger scale fills the full height of the two upper registers. Before him is a nine-line inscription in cuneiform.

SLABS 12–13, BM 124945–6
Height: 50 in; width: 77 in (127 cm; 195.6 cm)
Height: 84 in; width: 58 in (213.4 cm; 147.3 cm)
Slabs showing in three registers Ashurbanipal receiving the surrender of Shamash-shum-ukin and his allies.

GADD, *S.A.* p. 198, pl. 26; *A.S.* p. 76.
READE, *Iraq* pp. 9, 11–13.

Inscription:

1 a-na-ku ^{m}AN.ŠÁR.DÙ.A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR^{ki}
2 šá ina qí-bit DINGIR.^{meš} GAL^{meš} ik-šu-du
3 ṣu-um-me-rat lib-bi-šú lu-bul-^{r}tú^{1} šu-kut-tu
4 si-mat LUGAL-u-ti šá $^{m.d}$GIŠ.ŠIR.MU.GI.NA
5 ŠEŠ NU GI.NA ^{mi}ziq-re-te-šú ^{lú}šu-[u]t SAG.MEŠ-šú
6 ^{lú}ERIM^{meš} MÈ-šú ^{giš}GIGIR ^{giš}šá šad-da-di [ru]-kub EN-ti-šú
7 mim-ma ḫi-šiḫ-ti É.GAL-šú ma-la [b]a-šu-ú
8 UN^{meš} zik-ru u sin-niš TUR GAL
9 ú-še-et-ti-qu ina maḫ-ri-ia

RAWLINSON, *I.R.* pl. 8, no. 1.
STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* II, p. 318, 1.

Note: Between lines 6 and 7, from the epigraph recorded on a tablet (K.4453 + 4515 + Bu.89-4-26, 116) WEIDNER, *A.f.O.* VIII, p. 196 inserts the line: ANŠE.KUR.RA^{meš} ṣi-mit-ti ^{giš}ŠUDUN-šú

'I, Ashurbanipal, king of the universe, king of the land of Ashur, who, at the command of the great gods has attained the desires of his heart: the garments and ornaments—the royal insignia of Shamash-shum-ukin, the faithless brother—his harem, his officials, his battle troops, his (battle) chariot, his processional chariot—his state vehicle—(tablet adds: 'the horses of his yoked team'), all the provisions which were in his palace, the people, male and female, great and small —they made to pass before me'.

PLATE XXXVI Room M (continued)

THE SACK OF AN EGYPTIAN CITY
THE KING'S HORSES

The king thus sat on his throne before slabs 8 and 9, having beside him the glorious scenes of the surrender of the kings of Elam and Babylon. Confronting him on the opposite wall were slabs 15–16 in the corner (lost; subject unknown); then, after the entrance, 17–20, of which only 17 survives. But 18 is now restored to us from Boutcher's photograph and 20–21 from his drawings. As a result, we see scenes of conquest of two Egyptian cities, evidently from Ashurbanipal's first or second campaign in 667 or 663 B.C. They may be Thebes and Memphis.

Another drawing shows on slabs 22–23 a scene of the king's horses, beyond which must have stood on some slabs now lost (24–26), the king on a chariot or on foot, receiving the surrender of a city or prisoners.

SLAB 17, BM 124928
Height: 45 in; width: 72 in (114 cm; 183 cm)
Assault by Assyrian soldiers of a city having towers with sloping walls. The defenders (Ethiopian soldiers of Taharka) wear a single upright feather on their heads (READE, *Iraq*, p. 10 draws attention to the occurrence of such figures on glazed tiles found by LAYARD, *N.&B.* p. 165 ff., *Mon. Nin.* pl. LIII, LIV).
Below is a river containing much fish and some crabs.
A photograph (very faded) preserved as *Or. Dr. VII 33* (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio) shows this slab *in situ* in the ground. The photograph shown here has been recopied from the faded original, recapturing much that there is practically invisible.

HALL, *B.&A.S.* pl. XL.
PATERSON, *A.S.* pl. LXXII.
PRITCHARD, *A.N.E.P.* fig. 10
GADD, *S.A.* p. 196; *A.S.* p. 75.
BRUNNER, 'Ein assyrischer Relief mit einer ägyptischen Festung', *A.f.O.* XVI, 1952–3, pp. 253–62.

SLAB 18
Height: 45 in; width: 74 in (114.3 cm; 188 cm)
Rephotographed (1965) successfully from another photograph (also very faded) similarly preserved in *Or. Dr. VII 34* (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio). It shows slab 18, still *in situ*. It is now all lost, except for a small fragment at Marseilles and another at Yale (see below).

A drawing made for greater clarity by Miss M. M. Howard (1965) is added, with a reduced photograph of the fragment at Marseilles superimposed.

Fragment (a), Marseilles, Musée Borély, no. 1518
Height: 10 in; width: 11¼ in (25.5 cm; 28.5 cm)
Fragment from top left corner of slab 18 showing Assyrian slingers followed by Egyptian prisoners carrying scales containing vases and sacks as booty.

BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*
FALKNER, *R.A.K.*^{6} p. 252.

This fragment can be shown by Boutcher's photograph to belong to the top left-hand corner of slab 18 (see above).

Fragment (b)
[Since the plate XXXVI was printed, it has proved possible, with the aid of Miss Howard's carefully drawn study of the photograph, to identify another fragment. This is the worn fragment now at Yale, YBC 2355 (Plate LXX, fragment (c)) which can now be seen to belong to the second row of slab 18 toward the left-hand edge of the slab, below fragment (a) but a little to the right.]

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 19–20). Or. Dr. VII 35 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 18 in; width: 10 in (45.7 cm; 25.5 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber M'.
Assyrians assaulting another Egyptian city by the banks of a river, (Nile?), a branch of which encircles it. They have built a siege-mound and are advancing over it from the right to break into the city.
Pencil touched with white on light brown paper.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 22–3). Or. Dr. VII 36 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 14 in; width: 10 in (35.6 cm; 25.5 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber M'.
Unharnessed horses held by grooms in two registers, behind courtiers facing right. Probably part of a scene in which the king received an enemy's surrender.
Pencil touched with white on grey-blue paper.

A part survives as:
Fragment of slab 23, Vatican No. 14988 (former No. 8)
Height: 36 in; width: 24⅜ in (91.5 cm; 62 cm)
Grooms holding unharnessed horses.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*^{2} pp. 231–2, fig. 28 = *R.A.K.* pp. 27–8, fig. 28.
READE, *Iraq*. pp. 9, 12.

PLATE XXXVII Room M (continued)

DECORATION OF THE ENTRANCE OF THE THRONE ROOM

No information is available about the nature of the decoration of the doorway leading into Room L. The sculptures on the north jamb were 'virtually destroyed', those on the south jamb, totally.
Doorways (a) and (b), however, which led into the Great Court, were probably both decorated: but again the decoration of (a) is given as 'virtually destroyed' and not otherwise recorded. Of (b), however we have records showing that it evidently bore the usual three deities, like those in Room S. Facing towards the court, on each is the helmeted man with upraised arm, the lion-headed man with equine ears and eagle's claw-feet, and the man with bushy hair, holding a spear. In the centre of the doorway was a finely-carved stone carpet.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slab 3, Entrance (b)) Or. Dr. VII 38 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 9½ in; width: 13¾ in (24 cm; 35 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Entrance (b) to Chamber M, 1 and 2'.
This slab shows three figures, lower parts only surviving, moving to right. The leader is the man wearing a helmet, his right hand upraised to strike, his lower hand perhaps pointing down. The second is eagle-footed, to be restored as lion-headed, holding a mace; the third is the man holding a spear.
Pencil touched with white.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 1–2, Entrance (b)) Or. Dr. VII 37 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 9½ in; width: 13¾ in (24 cm; 35 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Entrance (b) Chamber M, 1 and 2'.

Similar to last, showing lower parts of three divine figures, moving to left. This scene in two pieces forms a single unit. For what is probably the surviving upper part of the leading figure, see below.

SLAB 1, Part of Entrance (b). Lyons, Musée de l'Œuvre pontificale de la propagation de la foi
Height: 31½ in; width: 18⅛ in (80 cm; 46 cm)
Upper part of figure of bearded male divinity wearing horned helmet and elaborate belt, arm raised.
Acquired from Monsignor Behnam Bennhi, Chaldaean bishop of Mosul in 1872–5.
LEY, 'Lettre de M. Maspéro sur deux monuments assyriens de Lyon', *Recueil de Travaux*, NS. Vol. 1, 1895, pp. 55–6, pl. opp. and p. 199.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (Pavement slab, Entrance (b)) Or. Dr. VII 39 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 17 in; width: 11 in (43.2 cm; 28 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Entrance (b), Chamber M, Pavement Slab'.
Ink and wash (unfinished).

Drawing by W. Boutcher (detail of last) Or. Dr. VII 40 (Royal Asiatic Society's portfolio)
Height: 11¼ in; width: 15 in (28.5 cm; 38 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Entrance (b), Chamber M. Portion of Pavement Slab (2" to the foot)'.
The area drawn is 8½ inches by 8½ inches, i.e. represents 4 feet 3 inches by 4 feet 3 inches, three-eighths of the whole. The whole slab was therefore 19 feet long (5 m 79.5 cm).

PLATE XXXVIII Court O

PART OF THE SERIES OF GUARDIAN FIGURES, "THE DIVINE SEVEN, THE GREAT GODS"

Three bearded apotropaic divine figures wearing triple-horned headdresses and long garments with elaborately decorated belts and sandals, advancing to right holding daggers in their left hands and brandishing small axes with their right.

BM 124918
Height: 35 in; width: 36 in (89 cm; 91.5 cm)
GADD, *S.A.* p. 192 has shown that this slab, showing three of the 'Divine Seven, the great gods', originally stood as slab 4 on the right of the entrance leading from Room M into Room O, i.e. entrance (b). In all probability the remaining four gods of the heptad were depicted on an adjoining slab or that on the other side of the entrance. Their exalted rank indicates the importance of the Throne Room the approach to which they guard.
HALL, *B.&A.S.* pl. LV.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 192.
This sculpture has a particular technical interest in showing evidence of being a recarved piece. In front of each of the divine figures may be seen, as on a palimpsest, traces of a bow held out stiffly, presumably by an archer; these figures have been changed into those of the present divine figures.

ROOM R
'ASCENDING PASSAGE R'

Room R, which goes closely in subject with Room A, was discovered by W. K. Loftus in 1854 (see Introduction p. 17), and was described in the 2nd Report. The south-east side showed the 'Journey to the Hunting Field' (slabs 17–1); while the north-west side showed the 'Return from the Chase' (slabs 28–18). The figures were noted to be 3 feet 8 inches high.

Slabs 1–9 were drawn by Boutcher; of these numbers 1–6 are in the British Museum, 7-8 are lost and 9 is in the Louvre. It was recorded by Loftus that slabs 10–17 showed 'legs of men on horses'.

On the north-west side 'Returning from the Hunt', slabs 28–23, showed men carrying carcasses of lions (the leader, on slab 23 described by Loftus (somewhat improbably!) as carrying a 'wounded lion'). Others carrying birds and hares are followed by guards. Slab 24 at the base showed men walking. Slabs 22–18 were represented only by bases of slabs, showing the legs of men walking. The surviving slabs except 9 (in the Louvre) are now in the British Museum.
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 188–9.
MEISSNER & OPITZ, pls. II, IV, pp. 12–20.

PLATE XXXIX

JOURNEY TO THE HUNTING FIELD
THE RETURN FROM THE HUNT

A descending series of reliefs showing huntsmen and hounds proceeding to the hunt with nets, stakes, balls of twine, etc.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 9–8). Or. Dr. VI 56
Height: 14¾ in; width: 21½ in (37.5 cm; 54.6 cm)
Attendants on horseback with hunting dog.
Pencil touched with white on greyish paper.
GADD, *S.A.* pl. 33.
Slab 9 = Louvre AO 19902 (see pl. XL) Slab 8 is lost.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slab 7). Or. Dr. VI 55
Height: 21 in; width: 12¾ in (53.4 cm; 32.4 cm)
Attendants with hunting dogs and nets.
Pencil touched with white, greyish paper.
= *BM 124893 (see pl. XL)*

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 6–5). Or. Dr. VI 52
Height: 21 in; width: 15 in (53.4 cm; 38 cm)
Attendants and mule carrying nets.
Pencil touched with white, brownish paper.
= *BM 124894–5 (see pl. XL)*

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 4–3). Or. Dr. VI 53
Height: 14½ in; width: 21 in (36.8 cm; 53.3 cm)
Continuation of preceding slab; attendants and mule carrying nets.
Pencil touched with white, brownish paper.
= *BM 124896–7 (see pl. XLI)*

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 2–1). Or. Dr. VI 54
Height: 14½ in; width: 21 in (36.8 cm; 53.3 cm)
Continuation of preceding slabs; attendants carrying nets.
Pencil touched with white, greyish paper.
= *BM 124898–9 (see pl. XLI)*

Of the slabs on the opposite side of Room R showing the ascending series, 'the return from the Chase', a set of drawings exists illustrating numbers 28–25 and 23 in the Or[iginal] Dr[awings] Series, by W. Boutcher. Slab 24 is lost.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 28–27). Or. Dr. VI 50
Height: 21 in; width: 15 in (53.3 cm; 38 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Ascending Passage R (⅛th full size)'.
Attendants carrying birds, hares and the hind parts of a lion.
Pencil touched with white, greyish paper.
= *BM 124888–9 (see pl. XLII)*

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 26–25). Or. Dr. V 2
Height: 14½ in; width: 21 in (36.8 cm; 53.3 cm)
Annotated: 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Ascending Passage R (⅛th full size)'.
Huntsman with attendants carrying two dead lions, four to each lion.
Pencil touched with white on greenish-brown paper.
= *BM 124890–1 (see pls. XLII, XLIII)*
Slab 24 is lost

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slab 23). Or. Dr. VI 51
Height: 14¼ in; width: 12¼ in (36.2 cm; 31 cm)
Slab probably a continuation of preceding one (No. 50). Attendants carrying dead lions.
Pencil touched with white, brownish paper.
= *BM 124892 (see pl. XLIII)*

PLATE XL Room R (continued)

HUNTSMEN AND ATTENDANTS WITH HOUNDS AND NETS GOING TO THE HUNT

SLAB 9, Louvre AO 19902
Height: 63 in; width: 47¼ in (160 cm; 120 cm)
Relief showing mounted huntsman moving to right, looking back at another horseman.
POTTIER, *A.A.* no. 60.

SLAB 8 is lost.

SLAB 7, BM 124893
Height: 64 in; width: 47 in (162.6 cm; 119.4 cm)
Attendants with hounds and nets. [Part of 7 missing.]
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 188–9; *A.S.* pp. 45, 73.

SLAB 6, BM 124894
Height: 55 in; width: 52 in (139.7 cm; 106.7 cm)
Attendants with nets, stakes & cords.
GADD, *op. cit.*

SLAB 5, BM 124895
Height: 60 in; width: 46 in (152.4 cm; 116.9 cm)
Attendant with laden mule.
GADD, *op. cit.*

Restorations: Slabs 9–5; break running through hounds' and mules' legs.

PLATE XLI Room R (continued)

ATTENDANTS WITH MULES, BRINGING NETS AND STAKES

SLAB 4, BM 124896
Height: 60 in; width: 53 in (152.4 cm; 134.6 cm)
Youthful attendants with mules.
GADD, *A.S*, pp. 45, 73, *S.A*, pp. 188–9.

SLAB 3, BM 124897
Height: 60 in; width: 40 in (152.4 cm; 101.6 cm)
Mule carrying nets.
GADD, *op cit.*

SLAB 2, BM 124898
Height: 60 in; width: 64 in (152.4 cm; 162.6 cm)
Attendants carrying stakes, cords, and nets.
GADD, *op. cit.*

SLAB 1, BM 124899
Height: 61 in; width: 13 in (155 cm; 33 cm)
End of last.
GADD, *op cit.*

PLATE XLII Room R (continued)

GUARDS AND ATTENDANTS RETURNING FROM THE CHASE

The ascending series (see pl. XXXIX) survives as:

SLAB 28, BM 124888
Height: 60 in; width: 53 in (152.4 cm; 139.7 cm)
Young guardsmen holding spear and shield, moving to right.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 188; *A.S.* p. 73.

SLAB 27, BM 124889
Height: 60 in; width: 55 in (152.4 cm; 139.7 cm)
Huntsmen holding rear part of lion, others carrying a hare and birds, some in their nests.
PLACE, *N.&A.* III, pl. 52 bis.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 188; *A.S.* p. 73.

PLATE XLIII Room R (continued)

ATTENDANTS CARRYING HOME DEAD LIONS

The series continues as:

SLAB 26, BM 124890
Height: 60 in; width: 44 in (152.4 cm; 111.8 cm)
Huntsmen holding dead lion.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 188; *A.S.* p. 73.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 82.

SLAB 25, BM 124891
Height: 60 in; width: 48 in (152.4. cm; 122 cm)
Huntsmen carrying dead lion, with bowman.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 188.

SLAB 24 is lost

SLAB 23, BM 124892
Height: 57 in; width: 45 in (144.8 cm; 114.4 cm)
Huntsmen carrying dead lions.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 188.

ROOM S

On the discovery of this room, see introduction p. 18. The entrance to the series of sculptured rooms around the Great Hall seems to have been at the south-west corner, at the lowest part of the mound. Here at a level described as 'at least 20 feet below the level of the North Palace' were found, ruined by fire, the remains of a portico, called by Loftus, 'Room S', or the 'Western Portal'. It had an outer foundation wall of roughly-cut stone blocks supporting a superstructure of white plastered mud brick. In the centre of the portico facing west were two large columns, and it is clear that they supported an upper floor, probably forming what the Assyrians described as a *bīt ḫilāni*, apparently meaning originally a building with windows or portico, of a type widely used in North Syria.[1] The upper floors contained reliefs which, though described by Loftus as 'fallen into S', we shall treat separately as belonging to a hypothetical 'S[1]' as they form a different series from those of S and the adjacent Rooms T, V, and W.

The 'Western Portal' was entered by two doorways: a minor entrance (a) and the main entrance (d) (see plate XLIV). That called (b) by Loftus is really the exit into Room T, and is described under that Room (plate LV).

To the south-west of the portal, the wall was originally decorated with hunting scenes in a series of slabs, now nearly all lost. But a drawing survives of one (slab 21), while some additional actual fragments have been recognized. The position of slab 21 is not shown in Boutcher's first map, but appears in the later versions. The series may be assumed (as by MEISSNER & OPITZ, p. 28) to have begun on slab 22 or 23, a probable piece of which survives; the series presumably once bore the figure of the royal huntsman himself, who led the stag hunt seen on slabs 18–21 beside a mountain lakeside, around which grew reeds, conifers, and vines. In slabs 18–17 the movement is directed towards the right, in slab 22 (?) towards the left, i.e. in both cases away from the entrance.

PLATE XLIV Room S ('The Western Portal')

HUNTING STAGS WITH NETS

SLAB, 22(?), Fragment. Rome, Barracco Museum, 49 (former 10)
Height: 15¾ in; width: 14⅞ in (40 cm; 38 cm)
Two bearded servants carrying off to left through rocky country, past a tree, the carcass of a stag slung on a pole.
MEISSNER & OPITZ, pl. VIII and pp. 37–8.
BARRACCO-HELBIG, p. 18, pl. XIII.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.* p. 54, fig. 45; *R.A.K.*[3] p. 130, fig. 45.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slab 21). Or. Dr. V 19
Height: 14½ in; width: 21 in (37 cm; 53.3 cm)
Annotated: 'Two men carrying off a dead deer. Dog pursuing a deer over mountain', 'North Palace Kouyunjik, Chamber S (¼ full size)'. Shows continuation of the stag hunt beside the lake. A stag-hound pursues a fawn past a wild vine and a tree; among the rocks and trees two more servants, one bearded, one beardless, carry off a shot doe; a stag escapes into the cane brake beside the lake. At top, foot of man walking to left.

This slab, marked red on Rassam's map (*T.S.B.A.* VII) as destined for the Louvre, is now lost, presumably in the Tigris. On Boutcher's plan (shown in corner of this plate) it is not marked.

The actual area drawn is 5½ inches by 12 inches; the original was therefore 22 inches by 48 inches.
RAWLINSON, *F.G.M.* I, p. 518 (part shown).
MEISSNER & OPITZ, pl. VIII, pp. 37–8.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*[3] p. 131, figs. 46–7 = *R.A.K.* p. 55, figs. 46, 47.

SLAB 22(?) Fragment (a) BM 124275
Height: 4 in; width: 3 in (10 cm; 7.5 cm)
Fragment of relief showing stag running to left, pursued by a horseman(?) of whose horse only the forehooves survive; beside it is part of body of another quadruped (fawn?). From R. C. Thompson's excavations at Kuyunjik.

Beyond the grand doorway, the stag hunting series was resumed after an interval of two slabs (20 and 19) which were left blank (Meissner & Opitz think because it was unfinished). The scene is resumed on slabs 18–17, drawn by Boutcher.

SLAB 22(?) Fragment (b) BM 135424
Height: 4 in; width: 3 in (10 cm; 7.5 cm)
Drawing by M. M. Howard (1969) of a small fragment showing a head of a stag moving to left. Possibly from this slab; found by R. C. Thompson at Kouyunjik.
THOMPSON, *L.A.A.A.* XIX, pl. LXII (no. 14)
MEISSNER & OPITZ, pl. VIII.

[1] See above, p. 18, esp. note 2.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (Slabs 18–17). Or. Dr. V 18.
Height: 14½ in; width: 21 in (37 cm; 53.3 cm)
Annotated: 'Men stretching a net and capturing deer and wild asses'. 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber S (¼ full size)'.
Deer led by a large stag heading in rocky country and trees for entanglement in hunting nets which one huntsman is tightening; another is holding a stag entangled by the horns; other stags are just discernible trapped in the netting.
Pencil touched with white on light yellowish-brown paper.

PLACE, *N.&A.* III, pl. 56.
BONOMI, *N.&P.* p. 396.
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 183–4.
MEISSNER & OPITZ, pl. VII.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 101.

These two slabs survive in the British Museum, sizes being:
Slab 18; BM 124871. Height: 28 in; width: 40 in (71 cm; 101.6 cm).
Slab 17: BM 124871. Height: 30 in; width: 26 in (76.2 cm; 66 cm).

PLATE XLV Room S ('The Western Portal')

MAGIC FIGURES GUARDING THE DOORWAY

MODELS OF DOGS FROM A MAGICAL RITUAL
(found under slab 1)

Entrance (d) was presumably flanked by a pair of identical slabs depicting demons; a drawing of only one survives, showing that on the north-west jamb.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slab 1). Or. Dr. V 47
Height: 14½ in; width: 21 in (37 cm; 53.3 cm)
Annotated: 'Mythical figures: on one the lion's mane and white of the eyes coloured red.' 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Entrance d, Chamber S (⅛th full size)'.
Shows four demonic figures in two pairs, the first facing left, in human form, the feet only surviving. He is followed by a second figure, with eagle's feet, also facing left, and two figures to right, facing each other, brandishing daggers and maces. They have lions' heads, equine ears and eagles' feet.
Pencil touched with red on white, greenish paper.

MEISSNER & OPITZ, pl. XIII.

As the size of the slab shown in the drawing is 12 inches wide by 7¼ inches high the original was 96 inches by 58 inches. The right-hand half of this slab survives as BM 118911 (see below).
Loftus's drawing shows a small hollowed rectangle in the base of the slab 1. This is a niche in which the excavator records finding five terracotta magical figures of dogs inscribed with their names in cuneiform. (Now BM 3001–5, see p. 36 and plate I and 2nd Report (Appendix).)

BM 118911
Height: 59 in; width: 53 in (150 cm; 134.7 cm)
Relief showing two mythical demons with human torso, lions' heads, equine ears and feet of a bird of prey, fighting with raised daggers and maces.

GADD, *S.A.* pp. 189–90, pl. 32 *A.S.* p. 74.

SLAB 2(?) Coll. Mme. Helène Bokanowski, Paris.
Height: 19¾ in; width: 17¼ in (50 cm; 43.7 cm)
A small fragment, showing the eagle's feet of two middle figures, possibly from the opposite slab (slab 2).

* * *

Plates XLVI–LIII illustrate the surviving parts of the scenes on slabs 16–6 (surviving as BM 124872–82), their story being supplemented by the drawings showing more details, now lost.

These show the king, taking part in lion hunts, a gazelle hunt, and an onager hunt, the scenes of which certainly continued further left on slabs 3–4, now lost. The scenes are arranged in three registers. Plate L shows only the bottom register, complete with part of the centre register; both have to be completed with the aid of Boutcher's drawings.

At the left-hand extremity spearmen are marching off to the left, probably escorting the lion's carcass. The top-most row is almost entirely lost, but it showed at the right a standing horse, presumably the king's, facing left towards the single combat between king, now on foot, and lion. This scene continues across on plate LI where, after testing his bows and arrows(?), the king is aiming at a lion released from a cage. This scene is evidently to be connected with captions, the cuneiform copies of which occur on clay tablets. In them the king tells us that he did these feats at the command of Nergal, who gave him manly strength (STRECK, *A.L.A.K* II, p. 308 δ quoted by MEISSNER & OPITZ, p. 51, n. 1). In another passage he mentions that Urtaku 'king of Elam, who had fled and laid hold of my feet . . . a lion made for him and . . . he was scared and implored my majesty for aid' (LUCKENBILL II, § 1026). The scene of the king's single combat on foot with a lion almost exactly reproduces that on slabs C, D, E, from the upper room (plates LVI–LIX) save for the king's wearing a crown in the latter series. In the present single combat, slabs 14–13, the king has dismounted from his horse, the hooves of which remain on slab 14. Followed by an Elamite squire holding his bow and arrows, he receives the charging lion on the point of his sword, his feet firmly planted apart, and grips the lion's throat with his left hand. The king wears his head-band and starry mantle, and his belt in which is thrust his writing stylus.[1] On slabs 12–11 the king, again accompanied by his shield-bearer and his Elamite squire, shoots at lions just released from a cage by a servant. The parallel scenes from the upper room indicate that the gap now existing on slab 12 between the shooting king and the lion struck by his arrow was filled by a third lion leaping at him (or rather, a third depiction of the same lion).

It would appear that the former scene follows the latter: the lion, surviving the king's bowshot, leaps at him and forces him to a hand-to-hand struggle.

The scene beyond these to the right in slabs 10–9 shows a curious group: the king, attended by three bowmen, two spearmen and his Elamite squire, is shooting with a bow and arrow before three Elamite kneeling and apparently applauding youths. It is possible that he is testing the bows, but since (as Meissner & Opitz point out) his arrow and those offered him have no points, it seems that this illustrates a competition at shooting at a target with the Elamite princes which is mentioned in a text.[2]

The scene which followed on slabs 8–7 is lost, but probably showed at least in part the continuation of the shooting match.

Slab 6 shows three servants holding a saddled horse of a type used by huntsmen. They are pointing to the lost subject on slabs 8–7.

The middle band shows at the left (slab 16) huntsmen riding up to the hunt. Two huntsmen are armed with round shields; behind them is the Elamite squire. Below them the king, with his Elamite squire, shoots at gazelle from a hiding-pit.[3] On slab 15 are remains of hounds and barefooted persons. Slabs 14–13 show the mounted king followed by two mounted attendants (the hooves of a third horse are preserved) spearing a leaping lion through the mouth. Another lion struck by three arrows leaps at the king's spare horse from behind.

On slabs 12–11 we have the calm after the storm and excitement. The king, dismounted, holding his spear, his starry garment no longer tucked round his knees but loosed to his feet, receives the salute of his huntsmen who lay out the carcasses of two lions ceremonially before him.

The continuation of slabs 10–7 is mostly lost, but comparison with the series from the upper room combined with surviving traces of the king's figure on slab 10 show that here was a scene (at least on slabs 10–9) of the king dismounted and clubbing a lion with his mace before his two attendants and his Elamite squire. On slab 9 stood his chariot with attendants holding spears at the ready.

The upper register or middle of slabs 8–7 (less likely 7–6) was apparently occupied by the section now in Berlin (VA 963+960) which shows at left the king dismounted, spearing a lion leaping and biting his spear, before his groom and Elamite squire who holds another spear, while to the right he stands before them, his mantle lowered, to survey (presumably) the lions' carcasses.

PLATE XLVI Room S (continued)

THE KING FIGHTING WITH LIONS ON FOOT AND ON HORSE

THE KING HUNTING GAZELLE FROM A HIDING PIT

On the discovery of this series, see introduction p. 17. The magnificent series of sculptures in three registers on the east wall consisted, when found, of ten slabs, all beautifully drawn by Boutcher (numbers 16–6) but originally included an eleventh (17), by then lost. What remains of the entire series is in the British Museum. Parts of the upper sections of slabs 16, 15, 14, 12, and 9, 8, 7, are missing.

For the surviving reliefs of these series see below, plates XLIX–LIII. All the drawings are carefully captioned, though not quite correctly, as the 'wild horses' or 'wild asses' are onagers.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slab 16). Or. Dr. V 23
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Pikemen marching.
(b) Warriors on horseback carrying bows, spears and large shields.
(c) Archer kneeling and discharging an arrow, behind, an attendant supplying him with fresh arrows.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber S (¼ full size)'.
Pencil touched with white, on greenish-grey paper.
= *BM 124872 (see pl. XLIX, L and LII and for a fragment Boston M.F.A. 633.685 see pl. LXXII, (kk)*

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slab 15). Or. Dr. V 12
Height: 11½ in; width: 14½ in (29.2 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Forepaws of dogs.
(b) Four ibexes.
(c) One ibex.'

[1] Discussed by M. WOLFF, *A.f.O.* X, pp. 317 f., MEISSNER & OPITZ, p. 22.
[2] K. 2867. Th. BAUER, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* II, p. 87 ff.
[3] On the use of the hiding pit for hunting, called in Assyrian *šubtu*, see A. K. GRAYSON, 'New Evidence on An Assyrian Hunting Practice', in *Essays on the Ancient Semitic World*, ed. by D. B. REDFORD and J. W. WEAVERS, Toronto (1970).

'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber S (¼ full size)'.
Pencil touched with white, on yellowish-brown paper.
= *BM 124873* (*see pls. XLIX, LII*)

Drawing by W. Boutcher (*slab 14*). *Or. Dr. V 11*
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Feet of standing horse.
(b) Two huntsmen pursuing lion.
(c) A flock of ibexes.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber S (¼ full size)'.
Pencil touched with white on yellowish-brown paper.
= *BM 124874* (*see pl. XLIX*)

Drawing by W. Boutcher (*slab 13*). *Or. Dr. V 10*
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) King running a short sword through lion.
(b) Lion attacking horse without rider.
King spearing him.
(c) Eunuch with led horse and whip.
Horse going in contrary direction.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber S (¼ full size)'.
Pencil touched with white on greenish-grey paper.
= *BM 124875* (*see pls. XLIX, L, LII*)

PLATE XLVII Room S (continued)

THE KING SHOOTING AT LIONS LIBERATED FROM A CAGE

THE KING TESTS HIS BOW AND ARROWS

THE KING INSPECTS THE SLAIN LIONS

THE KING HUNTS ONAGERS

Drawing by W. Boutcher (*slab 12*). *Or. Dr. V 7*
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Huntsman on foot discharging arrows.
(b) Portion of lion. Men with led horses.
(c) Huntsman discharging arrows.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber S (¼ full size)'.
Pencil touched with white on yellowish-brown paper.
= *BM 124876* (*see pls. LI, LII*)

Drawing by W. Boutcher (*slab 11*). *Or. Dr. V 5*
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Two lions: one wounded, the other issuing from cage.
(b) Huntsmen flaying dead lion. Behind, another dead lion, five warriors standing by; four figures making obeisance.
(c) Hunting scene: wild horses and asses.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber S (¼ full size)'.
Pencil touched with white on yellowish-brown paper.
= *BM 124877* (*see pl. LI*)

Drawing by W. Boutcher (*slab 10*). *Or. Dr. V 17*
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) The king and six attendants bearing arms. Before him, four bows, and parts of three supplicants.
(b) Portions of three spearmen.
(c) Wild horses: portion of hunting scenes.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber S (¼ full size)'.
Pencil touched with white, on yellowish-brown paper.
= *BM 124878* (*see pl. LI*)

Drawing by W. Boutcher (*slab 9*). *Or. Dr. V 15*
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(b) Portion of chariot.
(c) Men and dog with wild asses.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber S (¼ full size)'.
Pencil touched with white on greenish-grey paper.
= *BM 124879* (*see pl. LI*)

PLATE XLVIII Room S (continued)

THE KING'S ATTENDANTS

THE KING'S HORSE

HUNTING AND LASSOOING ONAGERS

Drawing by W. Boutcher (*slab 8*). *Or. V 14*
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: 'Wild ass hunt. Dogs pulling down an ass', 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber S (¼ full size)'.
Pencil touched with white on greenish-grey paper.
= *BM 124880* (*see pl. LIII*)

Drawing by W. Boutcher (*slab 7*). *Or. Dr. V 13*
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: 'Lower portion of two huntsmen and of two asses', 'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber S (¼ full size)'.
Pencil touched with white on greenish-grey paper.
= *BM 124881* (*see pl. LIII*)

Drawing by W. Boutcher (*slab 6*). *Or. Dr. V 16*
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Three eunuchs and led horse.
(b) Three eunuch warriors and led horse.
(c) Two eunuchs catching wild horses.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber S (¼ full size)'.
Pencil touched with white on yellowish-brown paper.
= *BM 124882* (*see pl. LIII*)

PLATE XLIX Room S (continued)

THE KING'S HUNTSMEN

THE KING, UNCROWNED, SHOOTING AT GAZELLE FROM A PIT

The lowest register is the best preserved. It shows, as stated, on slab 16, the king concealed in a hunting-pit[1] with an attendant shooting at an approaching gazelle (slabs 15–13). Slab 12 shows his groom or huntsman dismounted. On slabs 12–6 comes the pursuit of what are certainly onagers, though their ears are not drawn at their correct length.

SLAB 16, BM 124872
Height: 25 in; width: 28 in (63.5 cm; 71 cm)
Lowest register from hunting scenes in three registers. King in hunting pit.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 184; *A.S.* p. 72.
See also plates LI and LII for enlargements.
For a fragment of slab 16 at Boston, showing head of pikeman from top register moving left, see pl. LXXII (*kk*).

SLAB 15, BM 124873
Height: 24 in; width: 46 in (61 cm; 116.8 cm)
Lowest register from hunting scenes in three registers.
PLACE, *N.&A.* III, pl. 53.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 184; *A.S.* pp. 72–3.
See also plate LII for enlargement.

SLAB 14, BM 124874
Height: 50 in; width: 46 in (127 cm; 116.8 cm)
Hunting scenes in three registers.
PLACE, *N.&A.* III, pl. 56.
FRANKFORT, *A.A.A.O.* pl. 113.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 184; *A.S.* pp. 72–3.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 102.
See also plates L and LII for enlargements.

SLAB 13, BM 124875
Height: 65 in; width: 45 in (165 cm; 114.3 cm)
Hunting scenes in three registers.
PATERSON, *A.S.* pl. LVII (detail).
FRANKFORT, *A.A.A.O.* pl. 109.
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 184–5; *A.S.* pp. 72–3.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pls. 85, 89.
See also plates L and LII for enlargement.

PLATE L Room S (continued)

Enlarged view of parts of plate XLIX (slabs 16 and 14–13)

PLATE LI

THE KING, UNCROWNED, SHOOTING AT LIONS RELEASED; THE KING TESTING HIS BOWS AND ARROWS

THE KING, UNCROWNED, VIEWING THE CARCASSES

THE KING, UNCROWNED, SHOOTING AT ONAGERS

SLAB 12, BM 124876
Height: 65 in; width: 46 in (165 cm; 116.8 cm)

[1] See above p. 50 note 3.

Hunting scenes in three registers.
PLACE, *N.&A.*, II, pl. 53.
PATERSON, *A.S.* pl. lviii (detail).
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 184–5; *A.S.* pp. 72–3.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pls. 83–4.
See also plate LII for enlargement.

SLAB 11, BM 124877
Height: 63 in; width: 46 in (160 cm; 116.8 cm)
Hunting scenes in three registers.
PLACE, *N.&A.*, III, pl. 54, nos. 1 & 2.
FRANKFORT, *A.A.A.O.* pl. 112.
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 184–5; *A.S.* pp. 72–3.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 86.
See also plate LII for enlargements.

SLAB 10, BM 124878
Height: 66 in; width: 46 in (167.7 cm; 116.8 cm)
Hunting scenes in three registers.
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 184–5; *A.S.* pp. 72–3.
BARNETT, *op. cit.*, pl. 88.

SLAB 9, BM 124879
Height: 24 in; width: 46 in (61 cm; 116.8 cm)
Lowest register of hunting scenes in three registers.
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 184–5; *A.S.* pp. 72–3.
For missing part of middle register see plate XLVII, Or. Dr. V 15. The series is continued on plate LIII.

PLATE LII Room S (continued)

Enlarged views of slabs 16–12 (see plates XLIX, L and LI).

A deep scar runs from the lion's tail towards the upper right corner. It must have been inflicted at some time in the last century, perhaps in removal, as it appears in Mansell's photograph of this slab (*c.* 1880). The present photograph, taken in 1939, shows a slightly larger gap between slabs 13 and 12 than is really necessary. If the slabs are closely fitted, then 12 sinks on the right edge, a feature caused doubtless by the settling of the original floor.

PLATE LIII Room S (continued)

THE KING, UNCROWNED, FIGHTING LIONS
THE HUNT OF ONAGERS

To this series is probably to be added a fine fragment consisting of parts of two adjacent slabs now in Berlin. Meissner & Opitz consider them to belong to the middle register of slabs 8–7. We have proposed to place them in the topmost row in 9–8.

Part of Slabs 9–8(?), Berlin, VA 960+963
Height: 20½ in; width: 38½ in (52 cm; 98 cm) (VA 960)
Height: 20¼ in; width: 21⅝ in (51.5 cm; 55 cm) (VA 963)
A section of frieze showing a lion leaping from left at the king who, turned to the right, thrusts a spear down its throat. He is followed by an Elamite squire holding bows and arrows, and a groom with his horse. At the right, the king, followed by two Elamite grooms, turns right perhaps to survey carcasses, or to greet officers.
UNGER, *Z.A.* XXXI, pp. 231–3, who first joined these two pieces.
MEISSNER & OPITZ, pl. VIa, pp. 26–7.
MEISSNER, *A.F.* II, p. 1.
This slab must have been trimmed along the top to remove the upper border. Acquired in 1855 from the Crystal Palace Company; originally possessed by Sir H. C. Rawlinson.

SLAB 8, BM 124880
Part of lowest register of hunting scenes in three registers.
Height: 10 in; width: 42 in (25.5 cm; 106.8 cm)
PLACE, *N.&A.*, III, pl. 54, no. 4.
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 184–5; *A.S.* pp. 72–3.

SLAB 7, BM 124881
Part of lower register of hunting scenes in three registers.
Height: 12 in; width: 36 in (30.5 cm; 91.5 cm)
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 184–5; *A.S.* pp. 72–3.

SLAB 6, BM 124882
Hunting scenes in three registers.
Height: 65 in; width: 35 in (165 cm; 89 cm)
PLACE, *op. cit.*, pl. 54, no. 3.
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 184–5; *A.S.* pp. 72–3.
PRITCHARD, *A.N.E.P.* fig. 186.

The series of hunting scenes was then interrupted by the entrance (a) leading into Room T, which was flanked by a relief showing a god and *mušḫuššu*, dragon of Marduk (see pl. LIV).
Slabs 1–2 are marked on all plans as plain.

PLATE LIV Room S (continued)

THE KING HUNTING LIONS FROM A PHOENICIAN GALLEY IN THE TIGRIS(?)
GUARDIAN FIGURES; GOD AND *MUŠḪUŠŠU*

The rest of the entrance slabs show a lion hunt on the banks of a river, perhaps the Tigris, in which a Phoenician galley with horse's head prow contains the king and his guards.

Slabs 5, 4, 3, marked in the first plan as being 'more or less perfect', are marked red on the second plan (RASSAM, *T.S.B.A.* 7) as having been sent to the Louvre, but are likewise lost, apparently in the Tigris. They are known only from drawings.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slab 5). Or. Dr. V 21
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Hunters advancing through woody country on the banks of a river with a dog.
(b) Men rowing a boat in which are two horses and two warriors.
(c) Three warriors marching through a woody country.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber S (⅛th full size)'.
Pencil touched with white, on greenish paper.
The actual size of the drawing of the relief is 8 7/16 inches by 5¾ inches. The original was therefore 67½ inches high by 46 inches wide (171 cm; 117 cm).
GADD, *S.A.* p. 186.
This slab was broken on the left.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (slabs 4–3). Or. Dr. V 22
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: 'Lion Hunt.
(a) Chased lion plunging into river.
(b) Warriors attacking from a galley.
Another lion tied to the stern.
(c) Hunters and dog among trees.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Chamber S (⅛th full size)'.
Pencil touched with white on greenish paper.
The actual size of the drawing of the pair of reliefs being 8 7/16 inches by 8½ inches, the original was therefore 67½ inches high by 68 inches wide (171.5 cm; 173 cm).
MEISSNER & OPITZ, pl. IX.
GADD, *op. cit.*
UNGER, *A.& B.K.* fig. 81.

Entrance (a) was flanked on the east door jamb by a curious pair of demons, the first a half-human figure of a bearded man with a rounded head-dress, a belt and lion's hindquarters moving to right, who holds up his hands in the same direction as a horned monster with snake's head rearing on its hind legs of eagle claws, with lion's paws and tail. This is the *mušḫuššu*, the sacred animal of Marduk. No other slab survived from this entrance.

Drawing by W. Boutcher. Or. Dr. V 44
Height: 20½ in; width: 14½ in (52 cm; 36.8 cm)
Annotated: 'Two mythical figures.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Entrance (a), Chamber S (⅛th full size)'.
Pencil touched with white on brownish paper.
As the actual relief in the drawing measures 7¼ inches by 5¾ inches, the original will have been 58 inches high by 46 inches wide.
As Gadd observes (*S.A.* pp. 185–6), this piece, marked red in the published plan, was apparently taken for the Louvre, but was lost in the Tigris.

ROOM T

PLATE LV

GUARDIAN FIGURES

Adjoining slab 6 on the right was the entrance to Rooms T and V, which contained no sculptures except two slabs flanking the entrance to Room T, numbered 1 and 2, with demonic figures. One of these was drawn and survives as BM 118912 (see below).

Drawing by W. Boutcher, Or. Dr. V 48
Height: 21 in; width: 14⅜ in (53.5 cm; 36.5 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Three mythical figures.
(b) Man-headed lion.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Entrance b, Chamber S (⅛th full size).
Slab number 1 is similar, but more injured'.

SLAB 2, BM 118912
Height: 58 in; width: 44 in (147.3 cm; 111.8 cm)
Slab in two registers showing (above) on right, a pair of lion-headed men with eagles' feet threatening each other with maces and daggers; to left a man followed by another lion-headed, eagle-footed man menacing him with a dagger; (below) a lion-bodied, bearded man holding up his right hand in benediction, facing left.
HALL, *B.&A.S.* pl. XXXVI, Ib.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 190.

ROOMS S¹, T²/V¹

THE 'UPPER CHAMBERS'

On their discovery see introduction, p. 18. In the room S, in October 1854, Loftus found a large number of reliefs, apparently fallen from the upper rooms of the *bīt-ḫilāni*. The first series, in three registers, showed lion-hunting, in part closely similar in details and design to the series in Room S below (plates L-LIII); the most noticeable difference is that the king was here shown wearing his high crown.

As their positions are unknown, they cannot be numbered but are here given letters.

PLATE LVI Room S¹

THE KING, CROWNED, HUNTS LIONS FROM THE CHARIOT

THE KING, CROWNED, FIGHTS WITH LIONS ON FOOT

THE KING, CROWNED, LIBATES OVER THE CARCASSES

SLABS A, B
Parts of two slabs now lost, perhaps in the Tigris, showing lion-hunting from the chariot in three registers.

In the uppermost the king's chariot drives to right towards a fleeing lion over a dead lioness while the king shoots to the rear at a pair of lions attacking from behind. In the middle and lowest registers in a similar scene the king drives to the left. It is clear that the scene continued on the adjacent slab to the left, now lost. The middle register carries a long inscription in cuneiform, copied by Boutcher, preserved in a manuscript notebook in the British Museum (reproduced on the plate).
Use has been made of this copy by Boutcher, who seems to have made it when the relief was in better condition; the text reads:

1 a-na-ku ^{m}AN.ŠÁR.DÙ.A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR^{ki} šá AN.ŠÁR LUGAL DINGIR^{meš} ^{d}XV be-let MÈ ši-mat qar-ra-du-ti i-ši-mu-x [...]
2 ^{d}IGI.DU a-lik maḫ-ri ba-'u-ú-ri ša EDIN šal-ṭiš ú-še-piš-an-ni ki-i mul-ta-'u-u-ti a sal ×[...]
3 ú-ṣi ina EDIN áš-ri rap-ši la-ab-bi na-ad-[ru-(×)]-ti i-lit-ti ḫur-šá-a-ni ḪUŠ^{meš} it-bu-[...]
4 il-mu-u ^{giš}GIGIR ru-kub LUGAL-ti-ia ⌜ina qi(?)-¹bit AN.ŠÁR u ^{d}[XV] DINGIR^{meš} GAL^{meš} EN^{meš} -ia⌜ ×¹it⌜ ×¹ri× [...]
5 [..×¹ni-ri-ia ×[...]el-lat UR.MAḪ^{meš} šú-a-tu-[nu] ⌜ú-par-re¹-e [r...]
6 [...]× ×[...^{m}ur]-ta-ki MAN KUR NIM^{ki} šá in-nab-tú-ma iṣ-ba-tú [GÌR^{II}-ia]
7 [...] nu-ti UR.MAḪ ina muḫ-ḫi-šú it-bi-ma × ×[×(×)]
8 [...] ip-làḫ-ma ú-ṣal-la-a ⌜EN(?)-u-ti-¹[ia]

Line 1: trace after *i-si-mu* could be the first two horizontal wedges of *šum*.
Line 2: the signs *šal-ṭiš* read by Rawlinson and Streck as *mim-⌜ma¹* were copied clearly by Loftus as SAL-DIŠ. Since the reading *mimma* causes grammatical difficulties the suggested reading seems preferable. At the end of the line the sign following SAL could be either NAB or MU[L].

'I, Ashurbanipal, king of the universe, king of the land of Ashur, for whom Ashur, king of the gods, (and) Ishtar, mistress of battle, have decreed a heroic destiny . . . Nergal, who goes before (the battle line (?)) sent me to hunt nobly on the plain, according to (my) pleasure . . . I went out. In the plain, in a broad place, the raging lions, a fierce mountain breed, attacked . . . they surrounded my chariot, the royal vehicle, and at the command of Ashur and Ishtar, the great gods, my lords, . . . my yoke . . . I scattered that pack of lions . . . Urtaki, the king of Elam, who had fled, seized my feet . . . a lion sprang upon him . . . he was afraid, and implored my majesty (for help)'.
RAWLINSON, *I.R.* I, pl. 7, no. IXE.
STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* I, p. lii; II, p. 308 ε.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (Slab A) Or. Dr. V 3
Height: 14½ in: width: 21 in (37 cm; 53.3 cm)
Annotated: '(a) King hunting lion.
(b) Same subject.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, fallen into Chamber S (⅛th full size)'.
Pencil touched with white on grey paper.
The actual size of the slabs as drawn as 8 inches high by 9 inches wide, the original was thus 64 inches high by 72 inches wide (162.5 cm; 182.9 cm).
GADD, *S.A.* pl. 37, p. 188.

Drawing by W. Boutcher. (Slab B) Or. Dr. V 4
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: 'No 1 series (a).
(a) King slaying lion followed by eunuchs with led horse.
(b) King killing lion.
(c) Eunuch carrying two dead lions.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, fallen into Chamber S (⅛th full size)'.
Pencil touched with white on greyish-green paper.
Part of the original (lacking the top register) is in the Louvre now, AO 19913 (see below pls. LVII, LIX). The second register bears an inscription in cuneiform: RAWLINSON, *I.R.* Pl. 7 IX C; STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* II, p. 308, δ (a manuscript copy by Loftus (or Boutcher?) was also used for the present text)—

1 a-na-ku ^{m}AN.ŠÁR.DÙ.A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR^{ki} ina me-lul-t[i GAL-ia UR.MAḪ e]z-zu šá EDIN-šú TA ŠÀ^{giš}na-bar-ti
2 ú-še-ṣu-nim-ma ina GÌR^{II}-ia ina ^{giš}KAK ti⌜ ×¹šú as- ×[(×) (×) n]a-pi[š]-ta-šú ul iq-ti
3 ina qí-bit ^{d}IGI.DU LUGAL EDIN ša dun-nu zik[-ru-t]u ú-šat-[li-ma-a]n-n[i]
4 EGIR ina GÍR AN.BAR šib-bi-ia as-ḫul-šu [(×)] na-piš-tú iš-kun

'I, Ashurbanipal, king of the universe, king of the land of Ashur, in my princely sport × times(?) with arrows(?) I pierced(?) at my feet a raging lion of the plain(?) which they had released from a cage, but he did not die (lit: end his life). (So) at the command of Nergal, king of the plain, who has granted me strength and manhood, I then stabbed him with the iron dagger from my belt, and he died (lit: laid down his life)'.
Line 2: the traces between *ti* and *šu*, (which were copied by Boutcher as three vertical wedges which do not reach the whole height of the line, and of which the central one is slightly lower than the two outer), would seem to be best restored as a numeral, possibly 6 or 7. In this case the *ti* must be a phonetic complement to ^{giš}KAK, whose reading therefore remains questionable, unless *sikkatu* can mean 'arrow'. See already Streck l.c. note.
— the sign after *as-* is given by Loftus (or Boutcher) as beginning with a slanting wedge, not a 'Winkelhaken', as in Rawlinson.
— the UD given by Streck in his transliteration before *napištašu*, was in fact copied in the wrong position by Rawlinson, and represents the right-hand part of the sign *na* which begins *napištašu*.
— the text must have suffered between the time Loftus (or Boutcher?) and Rawlinson made their copies, since Loftus's copy has clearly *iq*, with only slight damage indicated after the sign.
Line 4: *iš-kun*: so Rawlinson. Boutcher has KID-*kun*, which can hardly be right.
For the inscription on the second register see below, Plate LVII, *SLAB C*.

Drawing by W. Boutcher. (Slab C) Or. Dr. V 20
Height: 14½ in; width: 21 in (37 cm; 53.3 cm)
Annotated: '(a) King with two attendants killing lion.
(b) King seizing lion by the tail.
(c) King pouring out a libation over four dead lions before altar.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, fallen into Chamber S (⅛th full size)'.
Pencil touched with white on greyish-green paper.
= *BM 124886; see below pls. LVII, LIX.*

Drawing by W. Boutcher. (Slab D) Or. Dr. V 6
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Man letting lion out of a cage which is pegged to the ground.

(b) Warriors in chariot going to right.
(c) Procession of led horses.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, fallen into Chamber S (⅛th full size)'.
Pencil touched with white on greyish-green paper.
= *BM 124887; see below pls. LVII, LIX.*

PLATE LVII

Room S[1] (continued)
('fallen into S')

THE KING, CROWNED, SHOOTS AT LIONS RELEASED FROM A CAGE

THE KING, CROWNED, CLUBS A LION, GRASPING ITS TAIL

THE KING, CROWNED, LIBATES OVER LIONS' BODIES TO THE GOD OF HUNTING

SLAB B(?), BM 124921
Height: 21 in; width: 28 in (53.4 cm; 70.5 cm)
Fragment of lowest register showing six youths carrying a lion's carcass; unfinished at right because of a corner. Nothing certain is known of the original position of this piece. It may have been a sculptor's trial piece.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 194, pl. 45. *A.S.* p. 74.
See plate LVIII for enlargement of this slab.

SLAB C (Fragment), Louvre AO 19903
Height: 46 in; width: 51½ in (117 cm; 131 cm)
Three registers: (a) Scene of king moving to right, followed by Elamite squire and two others.
(b) King in single combat with lion between squires.
(c) Servants carrying two dead lions.
PLACE, *N.A.*, III, pl. 62, nos. 1, 2.
POTTIER, *A.A.* p. 93, no. 61, pl. 21.
Encyclopédie TEL II, pls. 7–9.
See also plate LVI for drawing and LVIII for enlargement of this scene.
Inscription:

1 a-na-ku ^{m}AN.ŠÁR.DÙ.A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR^{ki} ina mul-ta-'u-ti-ia ina GÌR^{II}-ia UR.MAḪ ez-zu
2 ⌜šá⌝ EDIN-šú ina GEŠTU^{II}-šú aṣ-bat-ma ina KU-ti AN.ŠÁR ù ^{d}iš-tar be-let ta-ḫa-zi
3 ina ^{giš}az-mar-e ša ŠU^{II}-ia as-ḫul zu-mur-šú

'I, Ashurbanipal, king of the universe, king of the land of Ashur, in my recreation on foot seized a raging lion of the plain by its ears, and with the help of Ashur and Ishtar, lady of battle, I pierced its body with my own lance.'
RAWLINSON, *I.R.* pl. 7 IX B; STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* II, p. 306 γ.

SLABS D and E, BM 124886 and BM 124887
Height: 63 in; width: 67 in (160 cm; 170 cm)
Height: 63 in; width: 38 in (160 cm; 96.7 cm)
Continuation of scene of slab C, in three registers:
(a) the king, crowned, followed by two squires and protected by a shield-bearer, shoots point-blank with an arrow at a leaping lion: another lion follows and a third is released from a cage;
(b) the king twists the tail of a lion; a lion lies roaring at a mounted huntsman who whips it. Behind him is a chariot with two spearmen; above the king is a four-line epigraph in cuneiform (see below);
(c) the dead lions are brought in by youths before the portable sacrificial table and thurible, led by two musicians. The king, wearing his crown and holding a bow, libates on their heads. Behind him stand two servants with fly whisks, a squire holding his bow and arrows and another his spear and horse, and a third with a spare horse.
PATERSON, *A.S.* pl. XXXIV-V.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 187–8.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pls. 90–9.
FRANKFORT, *A.A.A.O.* pl. 108b.
PRITCHARD, *A.N.E.P.* p. 205, fig. 626.
Inscription on middle register:

1 a-na-ku ^{m}AN.ŠÁR.DÙ.A LUGAL ŠÚ LUGAL KUR AN.ŠÁR^{ki}
2 ina me-lul-ti NUN-ti-ia UR.MAḪ šá EDIN-šú ina KUN-šú aṣ-bat-ma
3 ina qí-bit ^{d}nin-urta ^{d}U.GUR DINGIR^{meš} ti-ik-li-ia
4 ina ^{giš}ḫu-ut-pal-e ša ŠU^{II}-ia muḫ-ḫa-šu ú-nat-ti

'I, Ashurbanipal, king of the universe, king of the land of Ashur, in my royal sport, I seized a lion of the plain(?) by its tail, and at the command of Ninurta and Nergal, the gods in whom I trust, I smashed its skull with my own mace.'
RAWLINSON, *I.R.* pl. 7 IX. D; STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* II p. 306 (γ)
Inscription on lowest register:

1 a-na-ku ^{m}AN.ŠÁR.DÙ.A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR^{ki} šá AN.ŠÁR ^{d}nin-líl e-mu-qí ṣi-ra-a-ti
2 ú-šat-li-mu-uš UR.MAḪ.MES šá ad-du-ku ^{giš}til-pa-a-nu ez-ze:tú šá ^{d}XV be-let MÈ
3 UGU-šu-un az-qu-up muḫ-ḫu-ru e-li-šú-nu ú-ma-ḫir GEŠTIN aq-qa-a e-li-šú-un

'I, Ashurbanipal, king of the universe, king of the land of Ashur, whom Ashur and Ninlil endowed with supreme strength, the lions which I killed, I aimed the terrible bow of Ishtar, lady of battle, at them. I offered an offering over them. I poured a libation of wine over them.'
RAWLINSON, *I.R.* pl. 7 IX A; STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* II, p. 304 α.
See plate LIX for enlargement of these slabs.

PLATE LVIII

Room S[1] ('fallen into S')

ENLARGED VIEWS OF SLABS B (PART?) AND C (see plate LVII)

PLATE LIX

Room S[1] (continued)
('fallen into S')

ENLARGED VIEW OF SLABS D AND E (see plate LVII)

PLATE LX

Room S[1] ('fallen into S')

SURRENDER OF UMMANALDAS
THE ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF THE CITY OF (name illegible)
THE CHALDAEAN PRISONERS

A further series of important slabs was also found fallen into Room S from the so-called Upper Chambers. While the 'small lion hunt' formed a first series, already described, that now to be described formed a second. This was a series in three registers, some in slabs of enormous size, showing the surrender of the enemy leaders, Ummanaldas the Elamite and Dunanu the Chaldaean, and their final humiliation at Ashurbanipal's triumphal feast.

From this upper room came a gigantic slab, found by Loftus in a state of completeness, though much cracked. It shows three registers divided from each other by a broad horizontal band. Each is subdivided into two horizontal strips by a ground line, except where a major subject, such as the king's chariot, transcends them. About half this slab survives in the Louvre. To the right of this slab was another, tall and narrow, continuing the scene. It is now also in the Louvre.

The uppermost register shows a scene laid amidst a plantation of conifers and bushes. At the left, a bearded man (an Assyrian or Babylonian) is led in by a courtier with upraised hand into the royal presence. Behind him, an Elamite king (Ummanaldas(?)) bows to the ground in surrender, followed by two more figures, one bearded, one beardless. After them, eight Elamites bow to the ground, followed by three more, raising their hands to ask for mercy.

The king in his chariot (lost except for his horse) is preceded and followed by his retinue.
The inscription above (apparently unpublished) reads:

1 a-na [....
2 [....
3 [....
4 a [....
5 e [....
6 AN.ŠÁR [....
7 GIM x [...

The middle register shows the assault and capture of an Elamite city in hilly country, indicated by mounds covered with reticulated pattern. The city has an interesting projecting wooden balcony on the battlement. Before it runs a river, beside which is a mound. An epigraph, much defaced, reads:

1 ^{uru}x x x ⌜ki URU LUGAL-u-ti šá KUR NIM.MA^{ki}
2 x x x ⌜ak⌝ x x ud(?) áš-lu-la šal-lat-su

'The city of ....-ki, a royal city of Elam, ..., I carried off its booty.'

From the city two rows of prisoners are led out, the upper by a chariot with four armed riders.

The lowest register showed the king in his state chariot receiving two rows of Chaldaean prisoners with their booty.

Drawings by W. Boutcher, Or. Dr. V 24
Height: 14½ in; width 21 in (37 cm; 53.3 cm)
Annotated: '(a) General receiving submission of a conquered people.
(b) Siege, defence and evacuation of a city. On the walls a cuneiform inscription.
(c) King in his chariot receiving captives and spoil. Below, a river.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik. Nos. 1 & 2 of Series (e) fallen into Chamber S. ⅛th full size'.

Pencil touched with white, pale greenish paper.
As the area drawn is 11¾ inches high by 14½ inches wide it may be estimated that the original height of these two slabs was 7 feet 10 inches (239 cm) and width 9 feet 8 inches (295 cm) the width of slab (1) was 7 feet 4 inches (223.5 cm) that of slab (2) being 2 feet 4 inches (71 cm). Two large pieces of this scene survive.
= *Louvre A 19905, 19906*. See plate LXI.

PLATE LXI

SURRENDER OF UMMANALDAS
THE CAPTURE OF THE CITY OF ——
THE CHALDAEAN PRISONERS

SLAB (A), Louvre AO 19905
Height: 72¾ in; width: 70⅛ in (185 cm; 178 cm)
Fragment showing, in upper register, surrender of Ummanaldas(?) and others in the pine woods before the king Ashurbanipal whose figure is lost leaving only visible part of his horse. In the middle register, assault of an Elamite city and in a corner of the lowest register, Ashurbanipal in his chariot. See Or. Dr. V 24 (pl. LX).
PLACE, *N.&A.* III, pl. 58, nos. 2, 3, 4.
POTTIER, *A.A.*, no. 63.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 204.

SLAB (B), Louvre AO 19906
Height: 67⅜ in; width: 27⅛ in (156 cm; 69 cm)
Continuation to right of same scene, as shown in Or. Dr. V 24.
POTTIER, *A.A.*, nos. 64+70.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 205.
YADIN, *A.W.B.L.* fig. 449 (colour) part.
Encyclopédie TEL II, pl. 18.

PLATE LXII

S[1] ('fallen into S')

PERSIAN AUXILIARY BOWMEN MARCHING TO THE ASSYRIAN TRIUMPHAL RECEPTION

A number of fragments exist in different collections, showing parts of processions of bearded men wearing extraordinary feather headdresses of three slightly different types. Though no explicit information about any is available, it appears very likely that these fragments are from the same room, and that this is Room S, into which they had fallen from above. All are to be seen moving to the right, in part by a stream. The majority are carrying bows with quivers of Elamite type and are barefooted, i.e. possibly not fighting, but entering on sacred soil. Some form a bodyguard to a divine or royal chariot, now mostly lost, but indicated by a handsome royal umbrella, most of which survives; it is possibly the chariot of Ishtar whose reins Ashurbanipal claims to have taken in his triumphal celebration of the *akītu* festival[1] or possibly the captured chariot of Te-umman or Ummanaldas followed by the royal prisoner's charger. The procession was apparently introduced by a musician with feather headdress playing the flute (Istanbul 6338–9). The middle row, led by barefooted Assyrian or Babylonian lancers, is at the right (BM135204 + 124923), greeted by three Assyrian priests wearing high hats of fish-tail shape, whom a recent discovery at Nimrud[2] makes it possible to recognize as *kalû* priests. Such priests were concerned with music to accompany invocations and form an orchestra on the reliefs from the Palace of Sennacherib, leading the procession to the Ishtar Temple.[3] The key to the placing of this series of soldiers with feather headdresses is given by the fragment BM 124794 (plate LXIV), which shows the Elamite prince led in as a prisoner while others bow down in surrender; behind him is the figure of a *kalû* priest, turned half round, apparently to look back at the procession of men with feather headdresses which approaches on the previous slab, plate LXII. Who are these strangers? It seems likely that they are Persian tribesmen, previously enlisted with the Elamites, who have rebelled, surrendered and joined the army of Ashurbanipal. They wear the feather headdress which ultimately survives, represented in an artificial reproduction, possibly of metal, in the court headdress of Achaemenid Persians.[4] The lowest register of BM 124923 (pl. LXII, e) likewise shows soldiers with feather headdresses led in procession, apparently by a female musician, of whom little but the head remains. There are three types of feather headdress.

[1] See below p. 56.
[2] MALLOWAN, *Nimrud and its Remains* (1966), Vol. 1, fig. 251.
[3] See GADD, *S.A.* pl. 22.
[4] See R. D. BARNETT, 'Assyria and Iraq, the Earliest Representation of Persians', in *Proc. of the IVth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology* 1960, published in *Survey of Persian Art*, Vol. XIV, ch. 80, pp. 2997–3007, (1967) (ed. A. U. Pope & P. Ackerman). Reade (*Iraq* XXIX, p. 43, no. 7) suggests that the fragments with bowmen wearing feather headdresses may come from Room XXII of Sennacherib's palace where Layard found a slab with figures wearing feather headdresses, but they are extremely different. See my article, *loc. cit.* P. CALMEYER, 'Federkränze und Musik', in *Actes de la* XVIIe *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Brussels 1969* (ed. A. Finet, 1970) has collected these fragments and suggested that they all represent Assyrians, Elamites, or Eastern Anatolians in Assyrian employ, occasionally also priests who wear this feather headdress in some religious festivity.

It is to be noted that the upper edging band to the upper row (fragments (c)–(d)–(e)) of feather-headdressed tribesmen appears to grow broader to the right while fragments (g), (h) and the border of the 'garden scene' (see plate LXIV) grow narrower towards the right. This suggests that they were on opposite walls of the same room with a sloping floor.

It need cause no surprise that the Persians should be known to Ashurbanipal. In fact we have an explicit statement that Cyrus, King of Parsumash, hearing of Ashurbanipal's great victory over Elam, sent Arukku, his eldest son, to Nineveh with tribute to acknowledge Assyrian sovereignty (WEIDNER, 'Die älteste Nachricht über das persische Königshaus,' *A.f.O.* VII, 1931–2). It may well be this episode to which the present scenes allude.

We now consider four pieces: (a), (b), (c), and (d), which appear to go closely together. In them we have, in an upper register, bare-footed soldiers carrying bows and quivers of Elamite type wearing small, close beards and feather headdresses of type 1. The soldiers of the lowest register, described under BM 124923, wear feather headdresses of type 2.

(a) BM 124924
Height: 18 in; width: 27 in (45.7 cm; 68.6 cm)
Fragment of procession of barefooted bearded bowmen wearing feather headdresses with 7 feathers. They walk along the bank of a river with fish, below which is the remains of a cuneiform epigraph . . . *uš a-na šarru-u-ti* . . . 'to (his?) royalty' . . .
The style of the figures in this fragment is quite different from the next to be described (2) and it is possible therefore that they come from a different room. The soldiers' hair is caught up in a twist under their fillet; their beards are shown as three spiral locks; their garment hangs down in the Assyrian manner in a tail between the legs.
HALL, *B.&A.S.* pl. XXXIX, 2.
GADD, *S.A.* 195–6; *A.S.* p. 75.

(b) Hartford Seminary Foundation
Height: 9½ in; width: 18 in (24 cm; 46 cm)
Series of four archers, bearded, wearing kilts and carrying Elamite quivers, moving to right. Their headdresses are missing, but obviously they belong to the series of (d).
(I owe my knowledge of this piece and permission to illustrate it to the courtesy of Professor J. D. Seger and Mrs Dorothea Brooks.)

(c) BM 135204 (formerly Royal Geographical Society, 7)
Height: 16⅛ in; width: 21¾ in (41 cm; 52.7 cm)
Large fragment from top register of reliefs in three registers. The present piece shows procession of six bowmen wearing feather headdresses, with close-cut beards and barefooted.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*[4] pp. 298–300, figs. 68, 69 = *R.A.K.* pp. 78–80, figs. 68, 69.
BARNETT, *G.J.* CXXV (1959) pp. 14–15 and plate.
This slab joins BM 124923 (fragment (e)) below and Boston Mus. Fine Arts 1953.13 (fragment (d)) on the right.

(d) Boston (Mus. Fine Arts) 1953.13
Height: 14½ in; width: 10⅞ in (36.8 cm; 27.5 cm)
Fragment showing two bowmen advancing to right, wearing feather headdresses; feet missing. Remains of two more such figures at right and left edge. From right-hand edge of slab.
Said to have been brought from Nineveh by a missionary.
D.P. HANSEN in HANFMANN, 'Acquisitions of the Fogg Art Museum', *A.J.A.* 58 (1954), p. 225 and pl. 37.5.
TERRACE, *The Art of the Ancient Near East in Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 1962, pl. 27.

(e) BM 124923 (lower part of fragment (c) + (d))
Height: 25 in; width: 26 in (64 cm; 66 cm)
Large fragment showing scene in two registers: in the upper register three Assyrian spearmen, barefooted, stiffly holding their spears ceremonially reversed, are marching to right (followed by a fourth of whom only the spear remains) to be greeted by three *kalû* priests with fish-tail hats, of whom the first holds a flower(?) in his right hand and a small cloth(?) in his left. The second and third raise their right hand in gesture of welcome.
WEIDNER (*R.A.K.* p. 81 and fig. 69) shrewdly pointed out that this piece can be shown to join (c) above by reason of the spear shafts which continue from one fragment on to the other.
The lower register shows five more bowmen with feather headdresses moving to right, apparently led by a woman, seemingly a musician, but of her only the top of her head remains. The feather headdresses in this contingent are represented slightly differently with shorter feathers set in a curved fillet.
A small hole drilled in the stone in the upper register at the right-hand edge is apparently one of a pair of such holes made possibly for inserting a horizontal metal rod, its purpose being unknown. Surviving examples of a pair of such holes

occur on two slabs of the Ulai battle in the palace of Sennacherib. This present piece (e) thus possibly stood in a corner.

HALL, *B.&A.S.* pl. XXXIX, 3.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*[4] pp. 300–1, fig. 69 =*R.A.K.* pp. 80–1, fig. 9.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 194; *A.S.* p. 75.

(*f*) *Venice, Museo Civico 5* (*Deposito Correr 41*)
Height: 8⅝ in; width: 2 in (22 cm; 5 cm)
Fragment showing bowman wearing a feathered headdress with seven feathers moving to right. Front of face and body and legs missing. (This piece might belong to the same row as (d) on the left.)
FALKNER, *R.A.K.*[6] p. 31, fig. 6.

We now have a group of six pieces going closely together from two rows of a bas-relief from the same or nearby slabs. They show the same bearded and kilted bowmen marching to right wearing feather headdresses, but there are differences from fragments (a)–(f) in style and dress. Their hair and beards are square, *à l'assyrienne*, not clipped close to the heads nor do they wear a chignon. The moustache is small and curled; the headdress has from five to eight feathers, instead of the regulation seven, and is bound by a twisted fillet. The quivers may have cross bands, but no palmette. They wear broad belts at their waist and the point of the skirt falls downwards between their knees; and they wear Assyrian buskins instead of being barefoot; at least a different regiment or a different scene may be indicated. The two fragments (j) and (m) show men with feather headdresses of different type from the two preceding types.

(*g*) *Brussels, o.1923*
Height: 7½ in; width: 6⅞ in (19 cm; 17.3 cm)
Fragment of relief. Part of upper edge remains with slight slope. Two bowmen with feather headdresses marching to right: upper part of one, and headdress and quiver only of second remaining.
GOOSSENS, *B.M.R.A.H.* XXIII, 1951, p. 29.

(*h*) *Venice, Museo Civico, 6* (*Deposito Correr 43*)
Height: 7¼ in; width: 13½ in (18.5 cm; 34.3 cm)
Upper part of slab showing three similar figures, similar to last, but on larger scale.
FALKNER, *R.A.K.*[6] p. 32, fig. 7.

(*i*) *Glasgow Art Gallery & Museum. Burrell Collection 28/38*
Height: 9 in; width: 4 in (22.9 cm; 10.2 cm)
Fragment showing archer walking to right. Trimmed at left edge. Preserved down to knees. This archer's beard is shorter than on the rest of the slabs.
Bought 1950.

(*j*) *Istanbul 6339*
Height: 5¾ in; width: 5⅝ in (14.7 cm; 14.2 cm)
Fragment of relief showing part of scene in two registers. Above, remains of bare feet of men moving to left (priests or soldiers?); below, head of bearded flute-player wearing feathered headdress. A striped object (a wicker frame or shield?) is seen at his shoulder.
EBERT, *R.L.V.* pl. III, B, C.
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 227–8.
KALAÇ, *Belleten*, XVIII (69), p. 49, pl. X.
WEIDNER, 'Wissentschaftliche Berichte,' *A.f.O.* XVII (1954–5) fig. 9, nos. 9–10.

(*k*) *Rome, Barracco 52* (former 9)
Height: 12¼ in; width: 8¼ in (31 cm; 21 cm)
Fragment of relief: two more bowmen with feather headdresses as last, marching to right.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*[3] p. 128, fig. 44 =*R.A.K.* p. 52, fig. 44.
UNGER, *R.L.V.*, VIII. pl. 111, B.
BARRACCO-HELBIG, pp. 18–19, pl. XV.

(*l*) *Paris, Louvre AO 22200*
Height: 11¾ in; width: 7⅞ in (30 cm; 20 cm)
Two further figures, similar to last: the remains of the upper frame, showing feet of man and horse, have been trimmed off from the right-hand edge of slab.
DE CLERCQ, *Cat.* II, pl. xxi, no. 23.
UNGER, *R.L.V.*, VIII, pl. 111, B.b.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*[3] pp. 127–8 =*R.A.K.* pp. 51–2.

(*m*) *Glasgow Art Gallery & Museum. Burrell Collection 28/61*
Height: 6½ in; width: 4¼ in (16.5 cm; 11.4 cm)
Part of slab showing upper part of bowman with feather headdress, moving to right; above his head, traces of feet(?) belonging to another scene. On the back is an inscription stating it to have been found at Nineveh in 1849(!).
Acquired 1952.
HANNAH, *A.f.O.* XVI (1952–3), p. 350, fig. 1 (no. 20).

(*n*) *Istanbul 6338*
Height: 5⅜ in; width: 11¾ in (14.6 cm; 30 cm)
Fragment of relief showing pair of bearded men wearing feathered headdresses with nine feathers and long tassels attached to their quivers, leading a horse and preceded by four more similar figures conducting a divine or royal chariot, indicated by the royal umbrella.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 227–8.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*[3] p. 128 =*R.A.K.* p. 52.
KALAÇ, *Belleten* XVIII (69), p. 49, pl. IX.

PLATE LXIII Room S[1] (continued)

A TRIUMPHAL BANQUET IN THE GARDENS AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE ELAMITES

The next series of slabs, first reassembled by C. J. Gadd, with the aid of the drawings, represented in three registers the climax of the triumphal march depicted in the previous plate. This was formed by a series of fragments, the most famous of which is the slab showing Ashurbanipal reclining on a couch, his queen (Ashur-sharrat) beside him seated upright on a throne in an arbour, while a female orchestra (perhaps Babylonian) of harps, drums, and double flutes plays for his pleasure, attendants bring food, and on the left prisoners of royal and princely rank bow down to the ground to beg for mercy or serve him food. The caption (on which see pl. LXIV, BM 124794 below) tells us that it shows the Elamite and southern Babylonian princes serving Ashurbanipal at his meal. At the right the dead Te-umman's hand, still holding his wand or sceptre, is fixed in a tree above a table bearing what is presumably his bow, his quiver full of arrows and his sword.

Another caption designed for a scene such as this, and recorded on a tablet, describes the scene of triumph in 655 B.C. thus: 'I am Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria; after I had brought the sacrifices for the goddess Šatri, (and) had begun the New Year of the Festival House (*bīt akīti*) and grasped the [re]ins of Ishtar, [together with Dunanu,] Damgunu, Aplâja, and [with the cut-off head of Te-umann,] King of Elam, whom Ištar, my Lady, had given over into my hands, I made entry into Arbela full of joy.'

WEIDNER, *A.B.K.R.A.*, *A.f.O.* VIII, p. 185, 34.
LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 1041.
STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* II, p. 320.
MEISSNER, *A.F.* II, p. 4.

In another epigraph (WEIDNER, *loc. cit.*, §14) Ashurbanipal explains that the gruesome exhibition of Te-umman's cut-off head at the city centre gate was in execution of a prophecy: 'Ashurbanipal, King of Assyria, put the head of Te-umman king of Elam before the gate of the city centre in public. As from ancient times by prophecy was proclaimed "The heads of thine enemies shalt thou cut off, wine shalt thou libate over them....." Shamash and Adad have accomplished in my time.'

At the right hand, before a pair of tables, stands a horse (possibly that of Ishtar whose reins the king has grasped or that of his conquered enemy). On one of the tables lies the horses' harness; before them plays a male orchestra.

In the middle register, Assyrian servants at the left bring food for which they bring a table; women pluck grapes and fruit from the vines amid the conifers; at the right, servants holding wands of office stand by the canvas (?) fence.

In the lower register is a forest of reeds, in which a stag and a boar lurk.

GADD, *S.A.* p. 179.
MEISSNER & OPITZ, pp. 61–70, pl. xvii.

The same lady wearing a similar mural crown is depicted on a stele from Ashur (15756/8).[1] MEISSNER & OPITZ, p. 67, 3, suggests that this crown is a punning allusion to her name 'Ashur-is-queen', but the mural crown can be probably explained as having a much longer history in the Ancient East, e.g. at Yazılı-Kaya, where it is worn by the goddess Hepat, one of the two principal figures. The ancient myth recorded by Arnobius about the deity Cybele or Agdistis that she placed the walled city of Gordion on her head indicates that the goddess wore a mural crown as the city's tutelary deity, like the later Tyche figures. It is therefore likely that the queen Ashur-sharrat here deputizes in the *akītu* festival for Ishtar of the city of Arbela. The object looped over the curved bed-head may then be the great necklace of the goddess Ishtar, whom she serves.

Slab (A) is in three registers, the lowest part now lost. For rest, see below, pl. LXIV.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (*Slab(A)*) *Or. Dr. V 41.*
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Standing figure and supplicants.
(b) Figures carrying presents, or dishes for a repast.
(c) Upper portion of reeds.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, fallen into Chamber S. ¼ full size'.
Pencil touched with white, brownish paper.
GADD, *S.A.* pl. 39.

The uppermost register (a) survives as BM 124794 below, pl. LXIV. A fragment of the middle register survives as BM 135119 (see pl. LXIV).

[1] ANDRAE, *Stelenreihen in Assur*, pp. 6–8. STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* II, pp. 391–2.

To the right of this scene, after a gap of uncertain length, is seen on Slab B a female orchestra of double flutes, harps, and drum playing amid a palm grove. A fragment related to this scene showing two women musicians is perhaps that in Berlin, VA 159 (see below, plate LXIV).

Drawing by W. Boutcher, (Slab (B)) Or. Dr. V 46.
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm).
Annotated: 'No. (1) series b.
Procession of musicians among trees.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, fallen into Chamber S. ¼ full size'.
Pencil touched with white, brownish paper.
The right-hand section of this fragment is now joined directly on to Slab (C), showing the king feasting, with the first of the musicians of Slab (B) appearing on the left of BM 124920 (see below, pl. LXIV). A figure at the left edge also survives as BM 135117 (plate LXIV) another perhaps as BM 135118 (*ibid.*) from the middle register.

Drawing by W. Boutcher, (Slab (C)) Or. Dr. V 42
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: 'No. 2 series (b).
(a) King and queen feasting under a trellis of vines.
(b) Eunuchs gathering fruit.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, fallen into Chamber S. ¼ full size'.
Pencil touched with white, greenish-brown paper.
GADD, *S.A.* pl. 40, p. 193.
The drawing shows only two registers as then surviving.
Topmost register = BM 124920

The next slab (Slab (D)) was preserved in three registers. The uppermost showed the deity's or king's horse with his harness on a table watched by attendants (see above, p. 56). Part of this register survives at Berlin as VA 969 (see pl. LXIV, below). The middle register shows only trees and bushes; the lowest, reeds. Both of these last registers are lost.

Drawing by W. Boutcher, (Slab (D)) Or. Dr. V 43
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Figure before an altar.
(b) Birds and trees.
(c) Portions of reeds.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, fallen into Chamber S. ¼ full size'.
Pencil touched with white, buff paper.
= *Berlin VA 969 (part)*

The last drawing of this series shows, after a gap of unknown length, slab (E) complete, now preserved as BM 124922 except for a fragment at the right edge, now trimmed off, showing palm leaves. It is in three registers: the top, showing a male orchestra moving right towards two servants with wands, standing by a basin and a vase; the middle row shows two more servants amid trees; the lowest, a boar in the reeds.

Drawing by W. Boutcher, (Slab (E)) Or. Dr. V 45
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Musicians before altar.
(b) Two figures standing near trees.
Birds flying.
(c) Boar among reeds.'
'North Palace Kouyunjik fallen into Chamber S. ½ full size'.
Pencil touched with white, light greenish paper.
= *BM 124922 (part)*

PLATE LXIV

A TRIUMPHAL BANQUET IN THE ROYAL GARDENS AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE ELAMITES

The following fragments survive:

SLAB (A), BM 124794
Height: 22 in; width: 27 in (55.8 cm; 68.5 cm)
Piece of topmost register showing from left to right a *kalû* priest with high hat, half turned round to rear, with a courtier, both holding napkins and one a fly-whisk. Before him an Elamite king holding vase, then two more courtiers with fly-whisk, one holding napkin; before them three men bowing down to the ground (to beg for mercy?). One of them is bearded, one wears a fleecy garment; before them is another Elamite king, holding fly-whisk. The epigraph reads:

1 . . .]^{r} ×^{1} [× ×]-ti-šú SIG$_5^{meš}$ i-ram-mu gi-mir mal-ki šá k[iš-
šat . . . . .]
2 . . .] × [ ]^{r}LUGAL^{1meš} šá KUR NIM . MA^{ki} šá ina KU-ti AN . ŠÁR
u ^{d}nin-líl ik-su-d[ā]ŠU^{II}-[(ā)ia]
3 . . .]a(?) × [z]i-zu-ma nap-tan MAN-ti-šú-nu ŠU^{II} ra-
me-ni-šú-nu e-pu-šá-ma ú-še-rib-u-ni × [. . . . .]

1 . . . '(whose) good (deeds?) they (i.e. the gods) love, all the princes of the whole . . .
2 . . . the kings of Elam, whom with the aid of Ashur and Ninlil my hands captured . . .
3 . . . they stood(?), and their own hands prepared their royal meal, and they brought it in before me.'

GADD *S.A.*, p. 180
STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* III, p. 837, ξ
Line 1: At the beginning Gadd suggests the reading ^{r}*ep*^{1}-[*še-e*]-*ti-šu* but the visible traces do not much favour it.
Line 3: Gadd suggests . . . *iz-z*]*i-zu-ma.*
—the single horizontal wedge before the break could well be *ina.*

SLAB (B), BM 124920 (part, joined to SLAB (C)), see below
Eleven fragments of reliefs of figures, six evidently from the palace of Ashurbanipal, recently (1968) came to light at Birmingham at Oscott College Catholic Seminary, to which they were, in 1858, donated by a former pupil, a missionary named W. R. Willson. Six are described below, three under this slab and three under slab (D), the remaining five being left for description elsewhere as being from the Palace of Sennacherib. Most of them are trimmed to a roughly rectangular shape and bear a series of Roman figures crudely cut on the face.

Fragment (f), BM 135119, formerly Oscott College IX
Height: 8¼ in; width: 7 in (21 cm; 17.5 cm)
Fragment showing beardless male servant advancing to right against a background of conifers, hands raised to carry a dish to the royal banquet. The original position of this fragment is clearly seen in the middle register of slab (A) as drawn by Boutcher, above, pl. LXIII.

Fragment (g), BM 135117, formerly Oscott College II
Height: 5⅞ in; width: 4¼ in (15 cm; 11.5 cm)
Fragment showing female musician advancing right among palm trees and conifers, wearing headband, necklace, triple-knobbed earrings, and bracelets, and garment with patterned edge to the sleeves, playing double pipe. This piece is clearly seen in the upper register of slab (B) at the left edge, as drawn by Boutcher, above, pl. LXIII.

Fragment (h), BM 135118, formerly Oscott College VIII
Height: 13¾ in; width: 6⅝ in (35 cm; 16.5 cm)
Showing a female attendant similarly attired to last, but with bracelets of flower shapes advancing to right past conifers, holding in right hand a basket of lotus flowers, one of which she raises in her left. Clearly from the middle register of slabs (B) or (C), the exact position being indeterminable, having been taken from an area of this slab which was not recovered or drawn by Boutcher.

SLAB (C), BM 124920 (main part)
Height: 55 in; width: 23 in (140 cm; 58.5 cm)
The topmost register is represented by the 'Garden Scene' showing (from the left to right) two women holding napkins and fanning the queen with fly-whisks; two more each bring a dish, which they protect with a fly-whisk, towards the enthroned queen and reclining king, who feast in the arbour amid the vines, conifers and palms, hung with the grisly trophies of victory, consisting of Te-umman's head and hand holding his wand. Behind the king stand two more ladies holding napkins and fanning him, and behind them is a table holding his sword bow, and quiver.
RASSAM, *A.L.N.* pp. 38, 40, pls. opposite.
RAWLINSON, *F.G.M.* I, p. 493.
PATERSON, *A.S.* pl. LXI.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 193; *A.S.* p. 75.
FRANKFORT, *A.A.A.O.* pl. 114.
PRITCHARD, *A.N.E.P.* fig. 451.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 105.
STROMMENGER-HIRMER, *F.J.M.* pl. 241.
MEISSNER, *A.F.* II.
Restorations: bottom left-hand and right-hand corners, parts of table and trees above.

A portion of the right hand of the scene on slab (B) (see above) survives, cemented to the surviving top register of slab (C)—the 'Garden Scene.' It shows the hands of the woman drummer and the woman harpist amid the palms and conifers. The feet are restored.

To slab (B) or (C) in the second row apparently belongs a small fragment now at Leyden:

Fragment (*a*), *Leyden 1319*
Height: 10¼ in; width: 7⅛ in (26 cm; 18 cm)
Showing a piece of the dress of a person walking to left between conifers, by a bush. From the collection of Freiherr von Bissing, who bought it in Florence.
MEISSNER & OPITZ, pl. XVII.
BÖHL, 'Granatboom uit den Zuin van koning Aššurbanipal', *Jaarbericht het Vooraziatisches-Egyptisch Gezelschap*, '*Ex Oriente Lux*', 3, pl. XIIIc.
WEIDNER, *A.f.O.* XII, p. 377, on GADD, *S.A.* p. 193.
MEISSNER, *A.F.* II, pp. 3–4 suggests the trees may be cypresses.

Fragment (*i*), *Berlin VA 159*
Height: 15¼ in; width: 8⅛ in (39 cm; 18 cm)
A fragment from the left-hand edge of a slab, possibly (B), shows a palm tree (top cut off) before which pass to right two women musicians; the hands of the leading figure with her instrument are lost; enough remains of the partly restored hands of the second figure to see that she plays a pipe or oboe. They wear their hair bound with a headband falling in long curls on their shoulders, unlike that of the other women attendants and musicians in this scene, but they have the same multiple earrings. Their dress and shoes otherwise are the same as those of the others. Their coiffure, however, is closer to that of the captive Babylonian women, depicted in Court J (pls. XXIX–XXX). The palm trees, too, on this piece have eleven fronds, instead of the eight normal in the garden scene, and it may be considered rather doubtful whether this piece belongs here.
MEISSNER, *A.F.* II (*Untersuchungen* V, p. 9).
MEYER, *A.D.V.M.B.* pl. 158.

Slab (*D*) is largely lost except for a small fragment in Berlin:

Fragment (*b*), *Berlin VA 969*
Height: 11⅜ in; width: 8$\frac{15}{16}$ in (29 cm; 22.5 cm)
It shows the two courtiers holding staves in front of the table loaded with horse harness (for the possible explanation see above, p. 56)
PATERSON, *P.S.* pl. 100.
MEISSNER, *A.F.* II, pl. 1, pp. 10–11.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 193, 219.
MEYER, *A.D.V.M.* fig. 160.

Intervening Slab between Slabs (*D*) *and* (*E*)*?*
Three more fragments of male musicians, possibly from slab (D), moving to right as if to join their companions on slab (E), recently (1968) also came to light at Oscott College Catholic Seminary, Birmingham.

Fragment (*c*), *BM 135120, formerly Oscott College X*
Height: 5$\frac{1}{16}$ in; width: 4 in (13 cm; 10 cm)
Showing upper part of a beardless man advancing right, apparently holding a pair of cymbals, the handle of one remaining in his left hand, the other lost. He wears a cross-hatched belt.

Fragment (*d*), *BM 135115, formerly Oscott College V*
Height: 9¾ in; width: 5 in (23 cm; 12.5 cm)
Showing major part of beardless male figure moving to right playing large vertical harp. He wears a broad belt with central band similar to the musicians on slab (E).
A possibility exists that this fragment joins at the left edge of slab (B) as drawn by Boutcher on pl. LXIII where the front edge of a harp of this kind may be seen. But it remains more probable that the two orchestras on slabs (B) and (E)—or the lost intervening slab—were of different sexes.

Fragment (*e*), *BM 135116, formerly Oscott College XI*
Height: 5¾ in; width: 5 in (15 cm; 13.3 cm)
Upper part of figure of beardless male advancing to right playing on a double pipe, one pipe being considerably longer than the other, as in the modern Arab shepherd's pipes.

SLAB (*E*), *BM 124922*
Height: 67 in; width: 21 in (170 cm; 53.4 cm)
This piece, drawn by W. Boutcher (see above) survives practically complete in the BM. It was first discussed by Gadd.
The topmost register shows a second series of musicians advancing towards two courtiers holding staves who stand on duty by the canvas(?) wall of the enclosure. The middle register: another pair (or the same pair) appear (or reappear) amid the trees and bushes. In the lower register skulks a boar in the reeds. As mentioned above (p. 57) a small fragment visible in Boutcher's drawing has been trimmed off the top right-hand corner, showing the edge of a palm tree, and the bottom right-hand corner is restored.
RAWLINSON, *F.G.M.* Vol. I, pp. 533, 543.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 194, pl. 42.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 107.

With this scene is usually associated a fragment of a scene of larger dimensions showing servants preparing for a banquet, and moving to the right.

SLAB (*F?*), *BM 124916*
Height: 48 in; width: 56½ in (122 cm; 143.5 cm)
Broken scene in two registers showing, in upper row, three servants wearing long dresses, bringing live birds and a jug and moving to right. Below are five beardless servants wearing long dresses and broad belts, of whom the second is carrying a wine jar on his shoulder, the third a covered pot, and two following lead in fat-tailed sheep. It is uncertain whether this slab belongs to this series or even to this room.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 191 and pl. 46b; *A.S.* p. 74.
BARNETT, *A.P.R.* pl. 106.

PLATE LXV Room S[1] (continued)

ASHURBANIPAL BANQUETING WITH HIS QUEEN (Enlarged view of slabs B–C, pl. LXIII)

PLATE LXVI Room S[1] (continued)

THE SACK OF THE CITY OF HAMANU IN ELAM
AN ASSYRIAN CAMP
ELAMITE AND CHALDAEAN PRISONERS

A further small group exists of slabs 'fallen into Chamber S', consisting of the scene of the capture of Hamanu, a city of Elam (already depicted in considerable detail in Room F—the 'Susiana Room', plates XVI–XXI above). The present scene, unlike the other scene of sieges and prisoners from Room S, is in three registers, the uppermost and lowest of which, subdivided horizontally into two halves, are each separated by a narrow band from the central scene. They have more in common with the following pieces from Room V[1]–T[1]. The top row shows a line of five heavily armed guards followed by an auxiliary with a strange coiffure; the next, Elamite prisoners and a chariot group surrendering. The next, the city in flames, with Assyrians demolishing it and evacuating booty. An inscription reads:
1 ^{uru}ḫa-ma-nu URU LUGAL-u-ti šá ^{kur}ELAM.MA^{ki} al-me KUR^{ud}
2 áš-lu-la šal-lat-su ab-bul aq-qur ina ^{d}GIŠ.BAR aq-mu
'The city of Hamanu, a royal city of Elam, I besieged and captured; I carried off its spoil, wrecked, destroyed, and burnt it with fire.'
STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* II, p. 319, ᵏ
LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 1037.
The lowest section shows Elamite prisoners eating under guard. It is represented in a drawing which enabled a fragment (BM 134386) recently to be identified and acquired. Some additional fragments of camp scenes appear to belong to the same series.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (*Slab* (*A*)). *Or. Dr. V 25*
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Six warriors with shields and spears; below, a man driving a chariot with attendants.
(b) Demolition and evacuation of a captured city in flames.
(c) Groups of men feasting. Two warriors stand by with shields and spears.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, fallen into Chamber S. ⅛th full size'.
Pencil touched with white, greenish-grey paper.
GADD, *S.A.* pl. 43 p. 192.
This slab is preserved in the British Museum as:

BM 124919 + 134386
Height: 68 in; width: 27 in (172.8 cm; 68.6 cm)
Traces of human heads on the upper and dividing band indicate re-use.
The rough left edge of the slab indicates that it stood at a corner of a room.
PATERSON, *A.S.* pl. LXII, LXX–LXXI.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 192; *A.S.* p. 74.
HALL, *B. & A.S.* pl. XLIV.
VON DER OSTEN, *Die Welt der Perser*, pl. 21.
YADIN, *A.W.B.L.* fig. 446 (colour).
BM 134386 (bottom left-hand fragment) was purchased in 1964.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (*Slab* (*B*)). *Or. Dr. V 26*
Height: 14½ in; width: 12¾ in (37 cm; 32.4 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Interior of a fortified city. Two camels, two oxen and two rams lying down. Interior of two tents showing various utensils and preparations for a feast.
(b) Interior of a tent. Two warriors standing outside; two ibexes and portion of another tent.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik. Fallen into Chamber S. (¼ full size)'.
Part of upper register and middle register of slab showing a fortified camp in which are a pair of camels making love and two tents with Assyrian soldiers receiving drink and servants preparing beds and cooking.
Pencil touched with white, greenish paper.
GADD, *S.A.* pl. 29a.

The area of the relief seen in the drawing is 7½ inches by 6½ inches (19 cm; 16.5 cm); it was thus originally 30 inches by 26 inches (76.2 cm; 66 cm).
Two fragments of this relief survive, though slightly trimmed, and a third piece possibly joining the others exists at Baghdad.

Fragment (*a*), *Berlin VA 965*
Height: 15⅜ in; width: 7½ in (39 cm; 19 cm)
Upper register showing fortification, tents, and camels. Top and sides trimmed. Meyer's illustration (see below) shows the bottom left-hand corner restored after damage.
PATERSON, *P.S.* pl. 101.
OPITZ, *A.f.O.* p. VII. 12.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 218, pl. 29A.
MEISSNER & OPITZ, pp. 78–9.
MEYER, *A.D.V.M.* fig. 159.
WETZEL, *A.&B.* fig. 24.

Fragment (*b*), *Glasgow Museum, Burrell Collection 28/70*
Height: 10¾ in; width: 7½ in (27.3 cm; 19 cm)
Fragment showing part of lower register, tent with soldier and servant, cattle, another tent. Sides and bottom trimmed.
HANNAH, *A.f.O.* XVII, p. 185, fig. 2.
Bought from Messrs. Spink.

Fragment (*c*), *Baghdad, Iraq Museum, IM 31065*
Height: 19¾ in; width: 30 in (50 cm; 76 cm)
Scene in two registers. Showing above: tents in a fortified camp. Within this, servants cooking. Elamite prisoners in two registers feeding under guard of Assyrian soldiers with large wicker shields.
GADD, 'Two Assyrian Observations', *Iraq* X, 1948, pp. 19–21, pl. V.
Guide to the Iraq Museum Collections, Baghdad (1942), p. 125, fig. 105.

The following fragments are also closely related:

Fragment (*d*), *BM 139197, formerly Royal Geographical Society 9*
Height: 11¾ in; width: 15 ? in (29.9 cm; 38 ? cm)
Portion of scene of captive Elamites feeding. Figures of three male Elamites are shown, as usual gesticulating with great animation. One in the centre is feeding from a large pot and is addressed by a man approaching from the right. The man on the left, seated on a cushion, is facing left.
Limestone, much altered by smoke and heat.
Formerly in the collection of Colonel Rawlinson.

Fragment (*e*), *BM 124788*
Height: 11½ in; width: 27½ in (29 cm; 70 cm)
Scene of captured Chaldaeans under guard. Two women approach with sacks; a seated man and woman beyond, two seated men drink from a water skin. Above, women light a fire.
GADD, *S.A.* pp. 178–9, pl. 47.

ROOM V¹/T¹

PLATE LXVII

THE CAPTURE OF THE ELAMITE CITY OF DIN-SHARRI

Another series of slabs appears to have ornamented the 'Upper Chambers' above Rooms V and T into which fragments were found to have fallen. They evidently showed, on slabs (A)–(C) (now missing), at the left of the series, the assault and capture of a city named Din-sharri, the slab showing the city itself being now lost. This was one of the eleven royal cities of Ummanaldas seized by Ashurbanipal (LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II. § 806). The scene is divided into two halves by a narrow band; above it are seen prisoners, cattle, and booty moving right; below it, moving left towards the king and his chariot. Part only of slab (D) now appears to survive from this fine series (see below).

Drawing by W. Boutcher (*Slabs* (*A*), (*B*)). *Or. Dr. V 31*
Height: 14½ in; width: 21 in (37 cm; 53.3 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Armed chariots in battle. Procession of captives and spoil.
(b) Prisoners and spoil.
(c) The king in his chariot preceded by armed warriors on foot receiving captives and heads of slaves.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik. Nos. 1 and 2 of series fallen into Chamber V (⅛ full size)'.
Pencil touched with white, light greenish paper.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 203.
The epigraph above the royal chariot at the left, also recorded separately in a manuscript notebook of W. Boutcher in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, and illustrated on this plate, reads:

1 a-na-ku ^{m}AN.ŠAR.DÙ.A MAN ŠÙ MAN KUR AN.ŠAR^{ki}
2 šá ina [qí-bit AN.ŠAR u]^{d}nin-líl ik-šu-du ṣu-um-me-rat lìb-bi-šú
3 ^{uru}di-in-[LUGAL] URU ša KUR NIM.MA^{ki}
4 al-[me] ak-[šu-ud] ^{giš}[GIGIR ?]^{meš} ^{giš}ṣu-um-bi ANŠE.KUR.RA^{meš}
5 ANŠE.[ŠÚ.MUL]^{meš} [ú-še-ṣa-]am-ma šal-la-tiš am-[nu]

'I, Ashurbanipal, king of the universe, king of the land of Ashur, who at the command of Ashur and Ninlil has attained the desires of his heart: I besieged and captured the city of Din-sharri, an Elamite town, and I brought out the chariots, carts horses and mules, and counted them as spoil.'
SMITH, *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 245.
STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* II, p. 321, λ.
LUCKENBILL, *A.R.A.B.* II, § 1038.
The continuation of the same scene is shown on the next slab.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (*Slab* (*C*)). *Or. Dr. V 32*
Height: 14½ in; width: 21 in (37 cm; 53.3 cm)
Annotated: 'Procession of prisoners and spoil.' 'North Palace, Kouyunjik. Nos. 3 and 4 of series fallen into Chamber V, ⅛ full size'.
Pencil touched with white, light greenish paper.
Again it may be inferred that, since the area of slabs drawn is 8¼ inches by 12 inches (21 cm; 30.5 cm) the total area of the originals was 5 feet 6 inches by 8 feet (168 cm; 244 cm).
A part of the lower register survives in the Louvre (see below) as AO 19907. As said, it is the only piece to survive from the above series.

SLAB (*D*) *Louvre AO 19907*
Height: 38 3/16 in; width: 48 7/16 in (97 cm; 123 cm)
Only traces of upper registers remain. Lower right-hand half only remains, showing two rows of prisoners moving to left. Above, horses and ox-drawn cart with Elamite prisoners. Below, Elamite prisoners, the men manacled.
POTTIER, *A.A.* no. 65.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 204.
PLACE, III, pl. 60, 3. 4.
PATERSON, *A.S.* pl. XII.
CONTENAU, *A.A.O.A.* pl. XLII.
Encyclopédie TEL II, pls. 22–3.

PLATE LXVIII Room V¹/T¹

SURRENDER OF CHALDAEANS
THE KING IN HIS CHARIOT
MUSICIANS AND HORSES
SURRENDER OF CHALDAEANS
ELAMITE PRISONERS
ASSYRIANS ATTACKING

Another slab (Slab (E)) which seems on general grounds of subject matter, scale, arrangement of scenes and style to belong with the above series, was found fallen into Ascending Passage R. Though found in R, some distance away from the slabs, it could easily have been carried there by the collapse of a wall or by human agency. It shows in four rows: above, the Elamite and other prisoners moving to right; below them, musicians playing and performing a triumphal dance, clapping their hands to mark time to the music; and horses brought as booty. Below this, Assyrian cavalry and archers are attacking through bushes to the left.

Drawing by W. Boutcher. (*Slab* (*E*)) *Or. Dr. VI 57*
Height: 21 in; width: 14 in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: 'Four lines of Inscriptions.
(a) Procession of warriors.
(b) Musicians and led horses.
(c) Warriors in battle, one mounted.
(d) Same subject.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik. Fallen into Ascending Passage R. (⅛ full size)'.
Pencil touched with white, light greenish paper.
This slab survives in the Louvre, *viz.*

SLAB (*E*), *Louvre AO 19908*
Height: 63¾ in; width: 40½ in (162 cm; 103 cm)
Relief in four registers:
(1) Procession of Elamite and other soldiers surrendering, continuing procession to right.
(2) Musicians and led horses.

(3) Cavalrymen and three soldiers advancing left around bush.
(4) Cavalryman among bushes.
PLACE, III, pl. 59, 1–3.
PATERSON, *A.S.* pl. XIV.
POTTIER, *A.A.* no. 66, pl. 23.
CONTENAU, *A.A.O.A.* pl. 16.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 204.
Encyclopédie TEL II, pls. 14–17.

A continuation of this series, or if not, of another series very closely similar, is represented by an incomplete slab (Slab (F)). It stood evidently at the left hand, starting a series, probably against the corner of a room. It shows in two registers, above, in two lines, Elamite prisoners as before, moving to right; below, the king again in his chariot, with part of an inscription. It survives both as a drawing and as a slab in the Louvre.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (Slab (F)) Or. Dr. V 33
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Procession of prisoners and spoil.
(b) King in his chariot and attendants.
Portion of cuneiform inscription.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, No. 3 of series fallen into Chamber V (⅛ full size)'.
Pencil touched with white, light greenish paper.

SLAB (F), Louvre AO 19904
Height: 63¾ in; width: 30⅜ in (162 cm; 77 cm)
Slab showing scene described above. Remains of inscription:
1 a-na-[ku . . . .
2 ša ina [qí-bit . . . .
3 LÚ KÚR[. . . .
4 ša[. . . . .
5 áš[-lu-la . . .
'1 I [am Ashurbanipal] 2 who at the [command of . . .]
3 the enemy [. . . . .] 4 of [. . . . .] 5 I carried off [. . . . .]
PLACE, III, pl. 66.
PERROT & CHIPIEZ, III, pl. X (part).
DIEULAFOY, *Acropole de Suse*, p. 31, 27.
POTTIER, *A.A.* no. 62, pl. 23.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 203.
CONTENAU, *A.A.O.A.* pl. 15.
Encyclopédie TEL II, pls. 10–13.
Inscription: STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* I, p. LVII, μ and n. 1; for a similar text cf. *ibid.* II, p. 318 κ, quoted above, p. 58.

PLATE LXIX Room V¹/T¹ (fallen into V/T)

ATTACK ON A CITY
ELAMITE PRISONERS

A final series of reliefs, very similar to the last, seems to be represented by parts of two slabs now in the Louvre. It is possible that they represent parts of the same scenes of battle and processions of Elamite prisoners shown in slabs (C), (D), (E) and (F) described above, though the lower half is subdivided into four smaller friezes, which depict the Elamite prisoners encamped under guard. They are perhaps closest to those showing the fall of Hamanu (Plate LXVI). Slab (A) is apparently from the left-hand edge of a series, Slab (B) from the right-hand edge, to judge from the unfinished state of the edges.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (Slab (A)). Or. Dr. V 28
Height: 21 in; width: 14½ in (53.3 cm; 36.7)
Annotated: '(a b) Warriors discharging arrows from chariots.
Slingers on foot.
(c d e f) Scenes, apparently representing camps, with feastings, etc.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, Fallen into Chamber T, ⅛ full size'.
Pencil touched with white, greenish paper.
As the area of the slab shown in the drawing is 8½ inches by 5¾ inches, the original slab was 5 feet 8 inches by 3 feet 10 inches. (This is 2 inches less in height than the other slabs fallen into V, showing the fall of Din-sharri, but about the same as that showing the fall of Hamanu (plate LXVI above), fallen into S; but the prisoners below Hamanu are Babylonians or Chaldaeans, not as here, Elamites.)
The upper part of this slab survives in the Louvre:

SLAB (A), Louvre AO 19909
Height: 43¼ in; width: 39 in (110 cm; 99 cm)
Slab (A) is divided into two main parts or scenes separated by a narrow band. Each half is further sub-divided, the top half into two registers, the lower into four, of which only the topmost and traces of the second now survive.

The topmost scene shows the royal chariot preceded by a shooting cavalryman; before him was a slinger, now lost save for his foot, but survived by his pile of stones. Below was a second similar scene; before the slinger stood an archer of whom only part of the quiver is left.

Below the band are parts of four friezes of Elamite prisoners; one is bringing meal for a horse tethered beside a twelve-spoked car; other Elamites receive rations; only remains exist of the next row.
PLACE, *N.A.* III. pl. 60, nos. 1, 2.
PERROT–CHIPIEZ, II, p. 283, fig. 115, p. 491, fig. 221.
DIEULAFOY, *l'Acropole de Suse*, p. 30, fig. 26.
POTTIER, *A.A.* no. 67, pl. 24.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 204, pl. 44.
Encyclopédie TEL II, pls. 20–1.
YADIN, *A.W.B.L.* fig. 452.

The lower part of another slab survives in a drawing showing three friezes from the lower half of a slab like the last, depicting Elamite prisoners encamped and feeding and cooking.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (Slab (B)). Or. Dr. V 27
Height: 9 in; width: 14½ in (23 cm; 37 cm)
Annotated: '(a) Figures seated grinding, etc.
(b) Same subject. Horse.
(c) Figures seated. Another with wine skin.'
'North Palace, Kouyunjik, fallen into Chamber T. ⅛ full size'.
Pencil touched with white, greenish paper.
As the area of the slab drawn is 3¼ inches by 3 inches, the original piece was 2 feet 6 inches by 2 feet.
A portion of it survives in the Louvre. It was evidently from the right-hand edge of a series.

Slab (B), Louvre AO 19913
Height: 16⅛ in; width: 30⅜ in (41 cm; 77 cm)
PLACE, *N.A.* III, pl. 64, nos. 1–4.
POTTIER, *A.A.* no. 72.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 206, pl. 29B.
Encyclopédie TEL II, pl. 19.

PLATE LXX

MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

There exist in various collections a number of fragments which cannot be securely assigned to any particular room of Ashurbanipal's sculptures. This list could probably be much extended by further diligent search. Some might however prove to be fragments from reliefs of Ashurbanipal in the south-west Palace.

Fragment (a) Berlin, VA 961
Height: 13¾ in; width: 17½ in (35 cm; 44.5 cm)
Part of relief showing royal chariot containing crew of four, a beardless general (the *turtanu*?) shooting, his charioteer and two shield bearers, all in full armour; the chariot is stationary between two converging streams beyond which evidently stood the enemy. This scene closely resembles that on Louvre AO 19909 (plate LXIX above).
PATERSON, *P.S.* pl. 100.
MEISSNER, *A.F.* II, pp. 11–17, pl. 11.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 218.
MEYER, *A.D.V.M.* fig. 161; *D.V.J.A.K.* fig. 84
idem., Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Forschungen und Berichte, Bd. 3/4, 1961, fig. 5.

Fragment (b), Berlin VA 966
Height: 15⅜ in; width: 10¼ in (39 cm; 26.1 cm)
Part of relief showing Assyrian soldier wearing large belt and carrying large shield with border on his back, driving to left a female prisoner (mostly missing) with a stick, followed by an ox.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 219, concludes that this is from a sculpture forming part of or resembling the capture of Din-sharri (pl. LXVII above).
GADD. *S.A.* p. 219.
MEYER, *A.D.V.M.* fig. 162.
WETZEL, *A.&B.* fig. 25.

Fragment (c), Yale Babylonian Collection YBC 2355
Height: 11 in; width: 15⅜ in (28 cm; 39 cm)
Fragment, very much worn, showing three fully armoured men in chariot, beardless officer (the *turtanu*?) with bow over his shoulder, raising his arm in signal; behind him is a shield bearer holding a shield aloft before the charioteer; beside the chariot wheel walks another armoured shield bearer holding a round shield aloft, followed by a horse. Limestone.
Gift of Miss Sophia Walker to the Congregational Educational Society. Bought from them in 1926.
[Since printing of the earlier plates I have now recognized this piece to be from

the scene of the Egyptian War, Room M, slab 18 (plate XXXVI) central register, where this type of three-man war-chariot is shown. The position of the break makes it certain that this fragment belongs there—R.D.B.]

Fragment (*d*), *Collection H.M. Calman, London* (*1947*)
Height: 6¾ in; width: 7¾ in (17.5 cm; 19.5 cm)
Fragment showing four Elamites, similar to last, shooting with bows to right from walls of a city. A foot of a fallen Elamite is seen at the bottom right, and the bow of a further bowman is seen at the left. The walls appear to have flat tops, not toothed machicolations. Traces of the upper horizontal edging band remain.
Mentioned in WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*[5] p. 328.
Previously Sarre Collection, Neubabelsberg, near Potsdam. Present whereabouts unknown.

Fragment (*e*), *Vatican 15007*
Height: 11 in; width: 4 in (27.8 cm; 10 cm)
Fragment showing helmeted soldier carrying large flat-bottomed shield on his back, marching right.
Similar figure on pl. LX above, second register.
Presented by Giovanni Bennhi (1855) to Pope Pius IX.
POHL, 'Ein neuassyrisches Reliefstück aus dem Vatikan', *Analecta Biblica* 12; *Studia Biblica et Orientalia*, Vol. III (*Oriens Antiquus*) Rome 1959, pp. 302–3, pl. XXIII.

Drawing by W. Boutcher (*Fragment* (*f*)). *Or. Dr. V 54*
Annotated: 'Fragment of Sculpture discovered during the month of October 1853, Kouyunjik. W.B.'
Height: 28¾ in; width: 23¼ in (73 cm; 59 cm)
Part of battle scene or scene of surrender, much worn, in two registers: Above, figures of Assyrian soldiers alternating with Babylonian(?) auxiliaries, walking to right, between conifer trees. Below, three Assyrian cavalry lancers, the first two armed with bows, their horses reined in at the ready.
Possibly from the 'Garden Scene' which has similar trees.
This piece survives in the British Museum: BM 135108.

Fragment (*g*), *Vatican 14985+14996* (*formerly 6+13*)
Height: 18¾ in; width: 22¼ in (47.5 cm; 56.2 cm)
Fragment showing the assault on the Elamite city of Bit-Bunaki. Bunaki or Burnaki lay in the mountains. It is mentioned by Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal. Four Assyrian soldiers armed with spears and two different types of large shield, wearing crossed bands passing through a disc at their chest, climb a ladder to storm the walls, on which an Assyrian already stands, and from which Elamites fall. Other soldiers undermine the walls. The fragmentary inscription reads:

^{uru}[É] bu-na-ki URU [šarruti ša ^{kur}Elamti^{ki}. . . . .]

'the town of Bit-bunaki, a royal town of Elam . . . . .'

WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*[2] pp. 229–31, tentatively assigns this piece to the 'Susiana Room' (Room F, pl. XVI–XXI above). This is not possible.
DESCEMET, p. 101, pl. I, 3.
MARUCCHI, p. 341, no. 23.
Reallexikon der Assyriologie, s.v. Bit-Bunaki, and pl. 61.
Inscription: STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* III, p. 47 (Rm. Cyl.), 49; III, p. 778

PLATE LXXI

OTHER MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

Fragment (*h*), *Institute of Archaeology Collections, Liverpool University*
Height: 14½ in; width: 14¼ in (37 cm; 36 cm)
Piece of upper part of relief showing upper horizontal border. Two Elamites are shooting with bows and arrows from the walls of a city at Assyrians who are scaling the defences. To left may be seen the round wicker shield and spear of an Assyrian mounting the top of the ladder, spearing an Elamite. Two others are falling from the battlements transfixed with arrows. As Weidner points out, the Elamites' quivers are of Assyrian, not Elamite type. The style, notably in treatment of hair, is less advanced than is found, e.g., in representative Elamites in the Ulai battle. A cuneiform inscription in two lines on the walls reads:

1 [^{uru}. . . .]×-tu URU ša [KUR NIM.MA^{ki} al-me KUR-ud]
2 [ab-bul aq]-qur ina ^{d}GIŠ.BA[R aq-mu]

'The town of . . . . tu, a town of Elam, I besieged, captured, wrecked, destroyed, and burned with fire.'

WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*[5] pp. 325–8, fig. 101, suggests that the city's name might be restored as either [Madak]tu or [Nadi]tu. Madaktu is of course depicted on the great Ulai battle scenes from the south east palace.
WEIDNER, *loc. cit.* = *R.A.K.* pp. 137–40, fig. 101.

Fragment (*i*), *Istanbul 6333*
Height: 6¾ in; width: 3⅞ in (17.2 cm; 9.8 cm)
Fragment showing Assyrian soldier facing right holding round shield.
KALAÇ, *Belleten* XVIII, 1954, p. 41, fig. 3.

Fragment (*j*), *Warsaw National Museum 19333*
Height: 11¼ in; width: 12¾ in (28.7 cm; 32.5 cm)
Fragment showing two Elamite bowmen shooting to right upwards.
Unfinished, to judge from chisel marks left in background. Found in a manor house near Świdnica.
IZABELA BELKE, *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie*, VIII (1967) no. 3, fig. 1, p. 58.

Fragment (*k*), *BM 131689*
Height: 21¼ in; width: 6⅛ in (54 cm; 15.6 cm)
Fragment of a siege scene(?) showing Assyrian soldiers walking left on narrow spit of land forming bank of a river at the junction of two rivers, brandishing spears and holding up shields. Above them, a goat and part of another one.
Below the main stream, another soldier, upper part only preserved, faces left holding spear and shield.
Limestone, trimmed on all four sides.
Formerly in Hove Museum.
From the North Palace, excavated by H. Rassam. Previously property of Miss Rassam, who presented it to Hove Museum.
Acquired by the British Museum in 1953.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*[5] pp. 207–8, fig. 87=*R.A.K.* p. 107, fig. 87.

Fragment (*l*), *BM 135198* (*formerly Royal Geographical Society 2*)
Height: 26¾ in; width: 14½ in (68 cm; 37.2 cm)
Two Assyrian bowmen shooting upwards to right. Foot of another at bottom left, partly seen. Limestone. Trimmed on four sides.
From the collection of Colonel Rawlinson.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*[4] pp. 290–2, fig. 62.
BARNETT, *G.J.* CXXV (1959), pp. 197–8.

Fragment (*m*), *BM 135199* (*formerly Royal Geographical Society 1*)
Height: 26¾ in; width: 15¼ in (60.8 cm; 38.5 cm)
Pair of similar bowmen wearing scale armour behind large wicker shield shooting to right. Limestone. Trimmed on top, bottom, and right side.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.*[4] pp. 290–2, fig. 61.
BARNETT, *loc. cit.* pl. 1.

Fragment (*n*), *Birmingham* (*City Museum*)
Height: 5 in; width: 4⅞ in (12.7 cm; 12.5 cm)
Fragment showing an Assyrian bowman walking to right holding bow and horse's halter? From left edge of slab.
Collection P. Allen (formerly Oscott College IVa), now on loan to Birmingham City Museum.

Fragment (*o*), *Florence, Archbishop's Palace*
Height: 8⅜ in; width: 6⅝ in (21.2 cm; 16.9 cm)
Showing an Assyrian soldier with pointed helmet and ear caps advancing to left with left hand raised grasping a stick (?); behind him is the face of an Elamite whose hands are extended in supplication. He wears a band of curls round his forehead. Trimmed on all four sides.
POHL, 'Ein Relief aus dem erzbischöflichen Palast in Florenz', *Jahrb. f. Kleinasiatische Forschung* II, 1951–4, pp. 97–100, pl. III.

Fragment (*p*), *Vatican 14984*
Height: 12 in; width: 10 in (30.5 cm; 25.5 cm)
According to Pohl, height: 8¼ in; width: 10⅜ in (20.7 cm; 27 cm), but this is incorrectly measured, since it was not placed by him in the original position with the right edge vertical, as can be seen from his plate.
Fragment, possibly from right-hand edge of a slab, showing two Assyrian soldiers holding spears and round wicker shield climbing a scaling ladder or a slope to attack.
Possibly a portion of Vatican 14985 (siege of Bit-Bunaki) fragment (g) above, or of the city of [. . .]tu, seen assailed on fragment (h). Presented to Pope Pius IX by G. Bennhi in 1855. Trimmed on five sides.
POHL, 'Die neugefundenen Vatikanischen Relief- und Inschriftenbruchstücke' *Orientalia* XVI, 1947, pp. 459–60, pl. XXIX.

Fragment (*q*), *Vatican 14986*
Height: 8⅛ in; width: 7⅝ in (20.7 cm; 19.2 cm)
Fragment of battle scene, showing Assyrian bowman with spear standing facing right, transfixing seated figure of an enemy (Elamite?) who is raising one arm. Above him, feet of a dead enemy lying to right and head and arms of another. Behind the soldier, part of a bush.
Possibly from the Ulai battle scenes of the South-West palace or (less probably) from the scene with similar vegetation of the slaying of Ituni in Room I of the South-West palace, though the scale of the human figures in that scene is larger (plate XXIV above). Trimmed on sides and bottom.
Acquired with last.
POHL, *loc. cit.* p. 461, pl. XXX.

Fragment (*r*), *Glasgow Art Galleries & Museum, Burrell Collection 28/77*
Height: 4 in; width: 10½ in (10.1 cm; 26.6 cm)
Fragment showing upper part of two figures of Assyrian bowmen moving to right, with the hind bowman holding a spear inclined forward, and riding a horse. Trimmed on sides and bottom.
WELLS, *A.f.O.* XVIII, p. 438, no. 3, slab 7.

Fragment (*s*), *Birmingham City Museum*
Height: 11¼ in; width: 4¾ in (28.5 cm; 15 cm)
Piece trimmed on three sides. Figure of Assyrian soldier with uplifted spear, left hand extended but lost, which doubtless held his shield. He wears crossed braces on his chest and a broad belt with clasp. At bottom standing line, possibly bottom of slab.
Collection P. Allen (on loan to Birmingham City Museum), formerly Oscott College IV(b).

Fragment (*t*), *Birmingham City Museum*
Height: 11¾ in; width: 4¾ in (29.9 cm; 15 cm)
Figure of Assyrian soldier similar to last, but his spear uplifted at an angle passes behind soldier's back. Before him is the foot of a recumbent figure, whose body lying to right, is lost.
Trimmed on three sides. At bottom, similar standing line to last.
Collection P. Allen (on loan to Birmingham City Museum), formerly Oscott College VII.

Fragment (*u*), *Cracow National Museum, former Czartoryski Museum, XI, 623*
Height: 9⅞ in; width: 7 in (20.5 cm; 17.8 cm)
This piece, a fragment of a battle or siege scene, is composed of several smaller fragments joined together. It shows the upper parts of two Assyrian auxiliary bowmen wearing headbands; that of the hindmost holds up his long hair; they are shooting to right. Behind and above the second bowman can be seen the upturned head of a dead or falling man and remains of his hand(s ?).
Possibly from the Ulai battle scenes in Room I in the North Palace.
PZREWORSKI, 'Ein assyrisches Relieffragment aus einer Krakauer Sammlung', *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny, VI*, pp. 84–8, 2–5 (Lvov, 1929).

PLATE LXXII

OTHER MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS (CONCLUDED)

Fragment (*v*) *Istanbul 41*
Two beardless courtiers advancing to left behind the studded wheel of a royal chariot on the bank of a river. From the bottom right-hand corner of a slab. Below the river, the stone is rough-hewn, this part having evidently been originally hidden.

Fragment (*w*), *Birmingham City Museum 1026,69*
Height 10½ in.; width: 8 in. (127 cm. 20.2 cm)
Fragment showing kneeling auxiliary archer wearing headband shooting to left. Behind him to right is the tip of a palm leaf, indicating a location in Babylonia. In front of him is the arm and clenched hand of another man, holding a cord(?).
Trimmed on three sides.
Formerly Oscott College VI. Purchased 1969.

Fragment (*x*), *Vatican 14994* (*former 11*)
Height: 6⅞ in; width: 4¾ in (17.5 cm; 12 cm)
Head of a Babylonian prisoner, with long beard and a corded headband, facing right.
From Kuyunjik.
MARUCCHI, p. 336, no. 13.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.* pp. 30–2, fig. 33 = *R.A.K.*[2] pp. 234–6, fig. 33.

Fragment (*y*), *Vatican 15006*
Height: 7⅞ in; width: 7⅞ in (19.5 cm; 19.6 cm)
Fragment showing the upraised arm of a vizier or other officer (originally facing left, now mostly lost) introducing, presumably to the king, a following bearded prisoner (probably Babylonian) with corded headband (cf. fragment (y)) followed by another prisoner (figure mostly lost) hands only surviving, raised in supplication.
A. POHL, 'Die neugefundene Vatikanischen Reliefs und Inschriftenbruchstücke', *Orientalia*, N.S. XVI, 1947, p. 462 and pl. XXXI.
A very similar group may be seen faintly sketched in the (now lost) central portion of the large scene shown on pl. LX (depicting the surrender of Ummanaldas and his allies), second row from bottom centre group: it is very possibly the very group from which this piece comes, which may then well have been partly invisible to the artist's eye from encrusted earth and salts.

Fragment (*z*) *BM 118941*
Height: 5 in; width: 3½ in (10.7 cm; 7.9 cm)
Figure of bearded Elamite moving to left, but looking back over his shoulder to right. Behind his right arm are traces of horse's neck. From a battle scene or scene of prisoners.
HALL, *B.M.Q.* 2 (1927/8) p. 64, pl. XLb. Acquired 1927.
Reported missing from the BM (under duplicated no. BM 127384) in *Illustrated London News* 1961, p. 898, May 27 and *A.f.O.* XX, p. 200, fig. 12. It has not since reappeared.

Fragment (*aa*) *Venice, Museo Civico Archaeologico* (*Deposito Correr 48*)
Height: 9⅞ in; width: 10 in (25.1 cm; 25.3 cm)
Slab showing two Elamite horsemen galloping to left, the nearer figure holding his hand to his mouth, in token of surrender.
Above, traces of an upper register on which are bare feet of a man facing left and an animal's hoof.
Limestone, slightly burnt.
From Layard's Collection formerly in the Palazzo-Capello Layard.
FALKNER, *R.A.K.*,[6] pp. 30–1, fig. 5.
Possibly from Room H (see pl. XXIII above).

Fragment (*bb*) *BM 135196*
Height: 3 in; width: 5 in (7.6 cm; 12.7 cm)
Fragment showing head of eunuch or youth facing to right.
Possibly from one of the missing figures from the Small Lion Hunt, pls. XLVI and XLIX.

Fragment (*cc*) *BM 135107*
Height: 8 in; width: 8¼ in (20.4 cm; 21 cm)
Fragment showing upper part of bearded man holding bowl to right, probably a captured Chaldaean.

Fragment (*dd*), *Ivanov collection, Moscow*
Height and width not known
Fragment of relief showing an Elamite moving to left, left arm raised, before him a horse's mane. Above him a horizontal line, the base for another scene now lost.
Former collection of Prince Putyatin (present whereabouts unknown).
M. V. NIKOLSKI 'Fragment Assiriiskago Ba-rel'efa', *Drevnosti Vostochniya* (*Trudy Vostochnoi Kommissii*), Vol. 1, 1889, pp. 358–9, pl. XII.
Mentioned in E. UNGER, 'Die altorientalische Sammlungen in Europa, America, Asien und Afrika', *Minerva Zeitschrift* Bd. II, Heft 5 (1926), p. 99.

Fragment (*ee*) *Beyrouth N.M. 627*
Height: 7 in; width: 4½ in (17.8 cm; 11.5 cm)
Seated man, probably a captured Chaldaean, bearded, facing right, holding cup and water skin; before him a child's pair of extended hands.

Fragment (*ff*), *Baghdad, Iraq Museum* (*?*)
Size not given.
Right arm and portion of hanging fringe from kilt of an apotropaic doorway figure, probably facing right. From the Nabu Temple.
THOMPSON, *loc. cit.* pl. LIX.2.
R. C. THOMPSON, 'Excavations on the Temple of Nabu at Nineveh', *Archaeologia* LXXIX, 1929, p. 109, reports finding, amongst other fragments: (3) 'two pieces of reliefs of tutelary deities; (4) four pieces of carved pavement, filched from Ashurbanipal's Palace; (5) a fragment of a horse's hoof with mountains, from small base at S.W. Gate; (6) a fragment of a soldier marching on mountains with dwarf oak; (7) a fragment of a "winged figure"; (8) a fragment of a palm tree; (9) a relief of lion's claw (probably Ashurbanipal) E. pavement'. He gives no illustrations of these, except for the fragment of a 'tutelary deity' which is reproduced here.
GADD, *S.A.* p. 230, mentions only the 'tutelary deities' and pavement piece(s ?)

Fragment (*gg*), *Beyrouth NM 628*
Height: 7 in; width: 7½ in (18 cm; 19 cm)
Fragment showing head and shoulder of nude male corpse in river. Joins (hh) at left edge.

Fragment (*hh*), *Rome, Vatican 14999* (*former 16*)
Height: 17⅜ in; width: 20⅝ in (44 cm; 52.5 cm)
Fragment from upper edge of a relief showing three naked male corpses in a river with fishes. Joins (gg) above. Connected by FURLANI & WEIDNER with the Elamite battle scenes, or others from Khorsabad.
DESCEMET, p. 104 & pl. 11.4
MARUCCHI, p. 341, no. 21, fig. 32.
WEIDNER, *R.A.K.* p. 32, no. 20, *R.A.K.*[2] p. 236, and fig. 32.

Fragment (*ii*), *Paris, Collection Jacques Lipschitz*
Height: 11¼ in; width: 16 in (28.5 cm; 40.6 cm)
Fragment apparently from one of the scenes of the Arab War in Room L (above, pls. XXXII–XXXIII) showing a bearded Arab with long hair falling over his brow, sinking down on his knees wounded, towards the left before a large unidenti-

fiable object; behind him at right can be seen parts of an Assyrian soldier armed with round shield aiming at him with his spear.
Photograph by courtesy of Mr. Sydor Rey.

Fragment (jj), BM 135110
Height: 10¾ in; width: 9¾ in (26 cm; 24.5 cm)
Broken head of eunuch or youth moving to left: possibly from lion hunt—or from scene such as BM 124916 (pl. LXIV Slab F(?))
From Loftus' excavations, 1854.

Fragment (kk), Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 33.685
Height: 5 in; width: 5 in (12.7 cm; 12.7 cm)
Head and shoulders of youthful pikeman moving left.
This piece, recognized only after the completion of the pls. XLVI & XLIX, is the upper part of the leading pikeman moving to left from Slab 16, Room S.
TERRACE, *The Art of the Ancient Near East in Boston* (Boston 1962), no. 26.

Fragment (ll), BM 130713
Height 6½ in; width: 5½ in (16.5 cm; 14 cm)
Showing back of Elamite with sack on shoulder moving to left, followed by Assyrian archer threatening him with stick. Cf. Louvre AO 19904 on plate LXVIII.

Plates A–F show in small scale a development of continuous runs of sculptures from the various rooms of the palace. Isolated fragments or pieces conjecturally associated with these runs are not shown here.

PLATE A

Room A Slabs 13–16 (*Plates II–III*)
Room C Slabs 4–12, 13–17, 20–28 (*Plates V–VII, VIII–IX, XI–XIII*)

PLATE B

Room E Slabs 13(?), 5, 7, 8 (*Plates XIV–XV*)
Room F Slabs 1–15 (*Plates XVI–XXI*)
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PLATE C

Room I Slabs 1, 5–7, 9–10 (*Plates XXIV–XXVI*)
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Room L Slabs 1–7, 9–13(?) (*Plates XXXII–XXXIII*)

PLATE D

Room M Slabs 1(?), 7, 12–13, 17–20, 22–3 (*Plates XXXIV–XXXVI*)
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PLATE E

Room S Slabs 21, 17, 16–6, 5-3 (*Plates XLIV, XLVI–LIV*)
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Slabs A–B (*Plates LX–LXI*)

PLATE F

Room S¹ Slabs A–E (*Plates LXIII–LXV*)
Room S¹ Slab A (*Plate LXVI*)
Room V¹–T¹ Slabs A–D (*Plate LXVII*)
Room V¹–T¹(?) Slabs E–F, A–B (*Plates LXVIII–LXIX*)

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

(not reproduced on plates)

A

A notebook once belonging to Loftus, in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, contains a few sketches and copies of cuneiform epigraphs including a copy of the epigraph of Bit-Bunaki (p. 61 above) and another in *six* lines, broken in half, mentioning Bit-Luppi. This, which is unpublished, is marked: 'Fragment. N.P.-K.-'

The following *tentative* restoration is based on similar texts (STRECK, *A.L.A.K.* II, p. 316, θ and p. 320, top).

1 [a-na-ku AN.ŠÁR-DÙ]-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR^{ki}
2 [ša ina KU-ti AN.ŠÁR u ^{d}XV LÚ].KUR^{meš}-šú ik-šu-du
3 [. . . . . UR]U É-^{m}lu-up-pi
4 [al-me ak-šu-ud U]KÙ^{meš} a-šib lib-bi-šú
5 [. . . . .] ANŠÈ.KUR.RA^{meš}
6 [. . . . ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal]-la-tiš am-nu

'[I, Aššurbani]pal, king of the world, king of Assyria, [who, under the aegis of Aššur and Ištar] has conquered his [en]emies:— [I surrounded (and) conquered . . . . . , a cit]y of Bit-Luppi; [I drove out and counted as sp]oil the people therein, [. . . . . and] horses.'

B

'From a fragment of sculpture; battle scene. North Palace.—Kouyunjik.'

The framing of Loftus's copy would seem to show that hardly anything is missing. To get a connected sense, however, one has to assume that a large portion of the inscription is missing. It is reasonable to infer that the epigraph was spread on more than one slab.

The following is a *tentative* restoration of the text. It is based on analogies with other inscriptions.

1 [. . . . . aš-šur u ^{d}]XV ú-šam-qít-u-ma ik-ṣu-ra MÈ ina šur-ru-ut mit-hu-ṣi-šú ina URU [. . . . .]
2 [. . . . . ina qí-bit aš-šur u ^{d}XV EN^{meš}-ia] ša ú-tak-kil-ú-in-ni ERÍN^{hi-a} mi-iṣ-tu ŠI.ŠI ERÍN^{hi-a} [iš-ku-nu . . . . .]
3 [. . . . . -š]ú-un šit-ta-tu-šú-nu šá ina ŠI.ŠI ip-par-šid-du pa-na-[as-su-nu aṭ-ru-us-su-nu-ti . . . . .]
4 [. . . . . aš-šur u ^{d}XV ana] MAN ki-a-am i-qab-bu-u um-ma la ta-pal-lah aš-šur KI [. . . . .]

'[. . . (the enemy) Aššur and] Ištar had overthrown and he prepared for war. At the beginning of his battle, in the town [. . . . . At the command of Aššur and Ištar, my masters,] who had strengthened me, (my) few troops [inflicted] a decisive defeat on (his) troops. [. . . . .] their [. . . .,] the rest of them, who had escaped the slaughter, I ch[ased . . . . . Aššur and Ištar] spoke thus [to] the King: 'Fear not! Aššur s[hall . . . . .]'

A

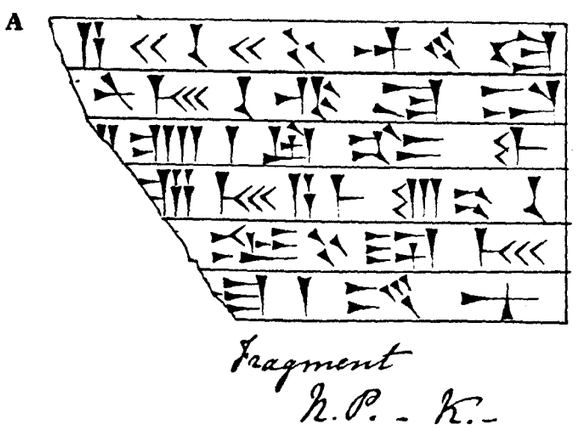


Fig. 13. Inscription mentioning conquest of Bit-Luppi

B

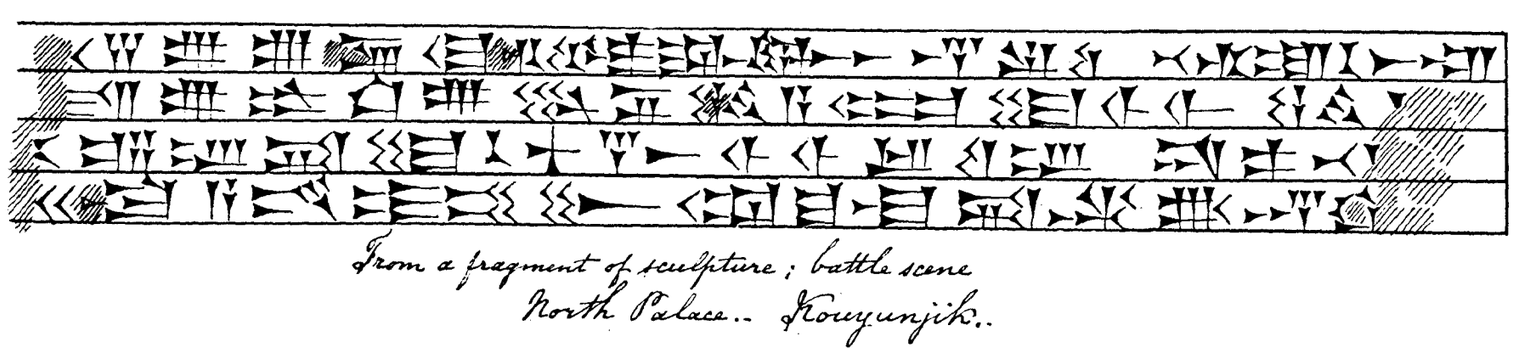


Fig. 14. Inscription recording an Assyrian military victory

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	38	X
	41	LXIII
	42	LXIII
	43	LXIII
	44	LIV
	45	LXIII
	46	LXIII
	47	XLV
	48	LV
	54	LXX
	57	LXVIII
	59	XXVII
VI	50	XXXIX
	51	XXXIX
	52	XXXIX
	53	XXXIX
	54	XXXIX
	55	XXXIX
	56	XXXIX
	57	LXVII
VII	1	II
	2	II
	3	XX
	4	XX

Volume	*Number*	*Plate*
VII	5	XX
	6	XXI
	7	XXI
	8	XXI
	9	XXII
	10	XXVI
	11	XXV
	12	XXV
	14	XXV
	15	XXVIII
	16	XXVIII
	18	XXVIII
	19	XXVIII
	21	XXVIII
	24	XXVIII
	25	XXXI
	26	XXXI
	27	XXXII
	28	XXXII
	29	XXXII
	30	XXXII
	32	XXXIV
	35	XXXVI
	36	XXXVI
	37	XXXVII
	38	XXXVII
	39	XXXVII
	40	XXXVII

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APPENDIX

REPORT

OF THE

ASSYRIAN EXCAVATION FUND,

APRIL 28TH, 1854.

THE Committee of the ASSYRIAN EXCAVATION FUND having received reports from Mr. Loftus of the results of his first researches in Babylonia, has much pleasure in now submitting them to the subscribers.

LETTER I.

EL KHUTHER ON THE EUPHRATES,
NINE MILES S.W. OF WURKA.
Jan. 11th, 1854.

GENTLEMEN,

I BEG to inform you that the expedition left Baghdad on the 29th ult., and reached this village on the 9th inst.

Our route lay midway between the Tigris and Euphrates. The want of water in some localities, and its superabundance in others, considerably delayed us.

We experienced also some difficulty in crossing the territories of the Beni Rechâb Arabs on the south of Niffar, who evinced extreme jealousy of our journey, and were much disposed to attack the party. I am happy to say, however, that we passed safely through them, and have even established a friendship with some of the sheikhs, which may be hereafter turned to advantage.

En route, I took the opportunity of visiting the following ancient sites; viz:—

1. Ibrahim (Cutha), an important pile of mounds, about fifteen miles N.E. of Babylon. Fragments of inscribed bricks are strewed over the surface, and, at one locality, is a huge block of white marble, apparently a portion of a cable-fluted column. Cutha was also an early Mahomedan city. It is highly desirable to excavate at this locality, but there is no water within nine miles. It might, however, be conveyed on camels from Naserieh Khan.

2. Ziblujeh, as far as I can judge, is entirely of Parthian origin.

3. Neeliah is a very extensive ruin, but no relics were observed of an earlier date than the Mahomedan era.

4. Niffar is well known to the Committee from Mr. Layard's last work. The platform covers a very large area; but owing to the state of the country during that gentleman's visit, it cannot be regarded as thoroughly explored.

Phara, about twenty-five miles S.S.E. of Niffar, is a smaller but important mound. It is resorted to by hunters after antiques. Several cylinders, rude bronzes, and small carved figures of animals in stone, purchased at Sûk-el-Affij, were said to have been procured at Phara. In the neighbourhood of the mound was also obtained from an Arab a highly interesting Egyptian relic, an impression of the hieroglyphs on the back of which is enclosed. From the name of the mound I would venture to suggest that it may have been an Egyptian colony, and that it is well deserving of being explored. Never having been occupied by the later dynasties, it does not exceed 40 feet in height, and it might therefore be investigated at comparatively little expense. I am on excellent terms with the Beni Rechâb chief of the locality, who, if required, is disposed to aid me. From Phara another large pile of mounds, called Bismya, is visible in the N.E.

In my letter of the 27th ult., I stated that it was my intention to travel more to the eastward than I have done, and to commence operations among the numerous ruins along the course of the Shat-el-Kahr. Unfortunately there has been no rain as yet this season, and consequently the Kahr is perfectly dry. Such being the case, I determined on beginning excavations at Wurka. The Towehbah tribe, with whom I had formerly encamped at the mouth of the Grayhim, has been driven out of Mesopotamia, and from want of water and protection, I am for the present obliged to establish my head-quarters at this village.

A dozen Arabs are now digging wells at the distance of three miles from the ruins, the nearest point at which water can be obtained. It is expected that a spring will be reached to-morrow.

With half-a-dozen Arabs I proceeded yesterday to the ruins, and I am happy to announce the almost instant discovery of a bas-relief, carved in basalt, and lying on its side. The style and general execution bear evidence of its extreme antiquity.

The Arab chief of El Khuther promises to supply me with as many workmen as may be required, who will encamp with me at the wells. As soon as water is obtained I shall employ about 100 men. At the present time general tranquillity prevails among the Arabs, and it is highly desirable to make the most of the opportunity. A much larger body of men could be advantageously employed at various parts of these extensive ruins. I therefore await instructions from the Committee as to the amount for which I am at liberty to draw on you.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient Servant,
WM. KENNETT LOFTUS.

To LORD MANDEVILLE, M.P. AND SAMUEL PHILLIPS, Esq. } *Hon. Secretaries of the Assyrian Fund.*

LETTER II.

CAMP, FOUR MILES S.S.W. OF WURKA.
Feb. 10th, 1854.

GENTLEMEN,

IN my last Report, dated the 11th ult., I had the honour of informing you, that, in consequence of the want of water, it was found necessary to dig wells midway between El Khuther and Wurka. The scarcity of the supply, however, prevented the removal of the camp from the banks of the Euphrates until the 18th ult.

In the interim, excavations on a small scale had been carried on at the ruins; but, at length the demands of the sheikh of El Khuther became so exorbitant, and his assistance so little to be depended on, that I was reluctantly obliged to procure workmen from other quarters. Fortunately, my old friends of the Towehbah tribe, hearing of my arrival, soon flocked to the camp, and they are now employed at various points upon the mounds.

The bas-relief, of which a rough sketch, made from memory, was enclosed by the last post, is, thus far, a solitary specimen of sculpture. Several deep trenches have been dug in its immediate vicinity without success. A tracing (No. 1) from a drawing of Mr. Boutcher's accompanies this Report.

Woodcut No. 1.



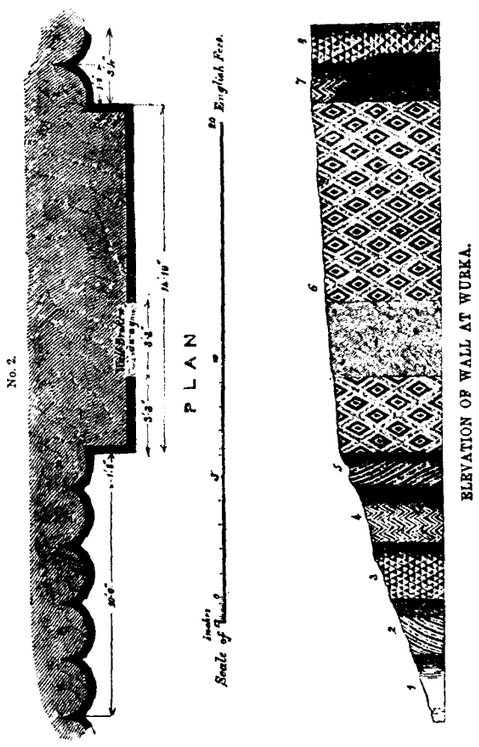
Terra-cotta Cone, size of original.

At the distance of about 100 feet to the north, however, there was uncovered the exterior face of a wall, 30 feet in length, composed of terra-cotta cones, each 3½ inches long, embedded in a cement of mud and chopped straw. The cones are laid horizontally, and therefore have their circular bases outwards. They have been dipped in colour, and are arranged in geometrical patterns. In Mr. Boutcher's tracing* (No. 2) are given the plan and elevation of the walling, together with the details of ornament. As this building is situated at the base of a mound on a level with the desert, it probably belongs to a very early age. The cones bear a remarkable analogy to those found in ancient Egyptian tombs; it may not therefore be unreasonable to conclude that the present edifice was a sepulchral monument. Cross trenches have been dug without discovering other portions of the building. No trace of walling behind the cones can now be distinguished from the mass of earth which surrounds it; but that such a wall, possibly of sun-dried bricks, once existed, is evident from the slender nature of the interesting remaining relic.

In order that some idea may be formed of the plan and extent of the ruins of Wurka, I beg to refer the Committee to my Memoir on the subject

* Engraved on page 4.

in the British Museum. It will be sufficient for my present purposes to explain, that three lofty and imposing piles of building rise from the centre of a platform of vast mounds—the whole being surrounded by a wall, 7 or 8 miles in circumference. Of these structures, that furthest to the east is the most conspicuous in the distance. It is composed of sun-dried bricks, with intermediate layers of reed matting, from which its name, "Bonarieh," is derived. An outer sustaining wall and massive buttress, of kiln-baked



bricks, have been discovered at its N.W. base, buried under the debris of a fallen edifice, which has once surmounted it. Among the rubbish was found a small piece of an inscribed cylinder, together with fragments of stamped bricks, from which the inscription (No. 5) has been carefully reconstructed.

The tablet (Nos. 9 *b* and 10 *b*) was found on a mound near the bas-relief.

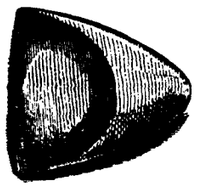
Inscriptions on bricks are, in almost all cases, so rudely stamped as to require the careful examination of several duplicate impressions in various lights before correct copies can be obtained. The photograph, therefore, only gives correctly such characters as are strongly marked; but it altogether fails in tracing the numerous and minute lines on small tablets, &c., such as Nos. 8, 9, and 10. Copies of these inscriptions, carefully traced on the photographic impressions, shall be hereafter forwarded.*

The broken inscription (No. 11) is a solitary example, and was found on the south slope of the Bonarieh.

Of all the structures at Wurka, that called Wuswas (sketch No. 3) is deserving particular attention, as it is by far the most perfect of its age remaining in Babylonia. It is a pile of brickwork, measuring 200 feet × 250 feet, 80 feet in height, surrounded by enclosed courts and offices; the whole embracing an area of 33,550 square yards! A plan of the brick mounds of this edifice (No. 4) is herewith enclosed. Each brick bears the impression of the sacred triangle or wedge, and a few have been met with, which are stamped with a minute but unfortunately indistinct cuneiform inscription. We have, therefore, conclusive evidence of the antiquity of the Wuswas building. It is my intention, if possible, to penetrate into its interior; but the immense accumulation of fallen brickwork renders excavation a work of considerable difficulty. I trust, however, shortly to forward the Committee a valuable addition to architectural history. The excavations, thus far carried on, have disclosed some very curious details, but they are not sufficiently advanced to allow of description or sketch by this post.

The most remarkable feature, however, connected with Wurka is the vast extent of mounds, containing the peculiar forms of coffins, of which three specimens are in the British Museum. As, to the modern shrines of Kerbelaï and Meshed Ali, the Persians carry their dead in large numbers, so, at Wurka, the ancients have formed a necropolis, which is probably unrivalled in extent.

Two trenches are being carried through one of the great mounds of coffins, for the purpose, if possible, of ascertaining their age, and whether they rest on any ancient buildings. Hitherto nothing has been discovered which serves to throw any light on the subject. Buried with the dead there occur terra-cotta vases, lamps, and curious figures, together with beads and such rude ornaments as are now worn by Arab women. The coffins sometimes yield small objects of gold, silver, and copper. From one has been obtained a collection of 112 gold articles, consisting of finger and ear-rings, beads, and ornaments from the neck and head-dress.



Among other heterogeneous articles, found in the excavations in a small mound north of the Bonarieh, is a flat oval pebble of dark green serpentine, cut across the middle and sharpened so as to resemble a wedge. The annexed sketch is of the natural size. There can be little doubt

* The various photographs and drawings alluded to in this letter are carefully deposited among the papers of the Fund.

of its having been an implement for writing cuneiform inscriptions. When impressed on soft clay, or dough, it produces characters precisely similar to those which occur on small clay tablets, and on cylinders.

The photograph (No. 12, *f.* 1) represents the bust of a glazed composition figure, picked up from the surface of a mound.

No. 12, *f.* 2, is the Egyptian relic purchased near Phara on the journey from Baghdad; impressions from the back and sides of which accompanied the last Report.

The Committee have probably already heard that Mr. Taylor, H.M.'s Vice-Consul at Busrah, has made most interesting and important discoveries at the Mukgeir ruin twenty-five miles distant on the west of the Euphrates. During the past week I have taken the opportunity of visiting him in order to profit by the results of his experience at that locality. From my short examination of the ruins of Sinkara, in 1850, I have since been of opinion that they will furnish discoveries similar to those made by Mr. Taylor at the Mukgeir. As the water is now rising into the bed of the Shat-el-Kahr, I propose taking a party of workmen early next week to make a preliminary examination of the mounds at Sinkara, Ablah, Tel Sifr, etc., previously to commencing more extensive operations at those localities. During my absence, Mr. Boutcher will take charge of the excavations at Wurka.

In consequence of its being unsafe to entrust Mr. Boutcher's drawings by post, I have thought it advisable to send only tracings from them, and to await an opportunity by which the originals can be forwarded to England with safety.

I beg to subscribe myself,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient Servant,
WM. KENNETT LOFTUS.

To VISCOUNT MANDEVILLE, M.P. AND SAMUEL PHILLIPS, ESQ., } *Hon. Secretaries of the Assyrian Excavation Fund.*

The negative of the photographs mentioned in Mr. Loftus's report not having been forwarded to this country, the Committee are not yet in a position to publish any illustrations of the recent discoveries beyond the woodcuts given in this sheet.

In addition to the discoveries mentioned by Mr. Loftus, the Committee has to announce that a new palace has been found at Nineveh, in the mound of Kouyunjik, of which Colonel Rawlinson reports in the following terms:—

"A most beautiful palace has been recently discovered at Nineveh, belonging to the son of Esar-Haddon. The sculptures are infinitely superior in variety of subject, in artistic treatment, and in skill and delicacy of execution, to everything which has been before found. The palace, also, is of great extent, containing perhaps five hundred sculptured slabs, and the marbles are generally in a good state of preservation."

In another letter he adds:—

"The new palace is by far the most magnificent thing yet discovered in Assyria. Each hall, room, and passage is devoted to a separate subject, and where the series is complete, and the sculpture is well preserved, as not unfrequently happens, the series are of extraordinary interest. In fact, the variety of subject, artistic grouping and treatment, high relief, richness of detail, and delicacy of execution, entitle the palace to be reckoned the *chef-d'œuvre* of Assyrian art. Some of the pavement slabs are most superb, and the animals, trees, and flowers, even the human figures, are much more natural and free from conventionalities than in any of the earlier palaces. There are between two and three hundred sculptured slabs already uncovered, and not above one-half of the palace is yet explored.

"Colossal bulls and lions there are none, but monsters, centaurs, hippogryphs, &c., there are as many as you please.

"At one of the entrances there are a pair of round ornamental pedestals, which certainly supported columns; but as there are no remains of such columns, they must have been formed, I suppose, of wood.

"On one slab there is a city with a double wall, and within a temple, faced with a row of columns supported on the backs of animals. On another there is a mound, on the top of which is a castle, and to give more extent to the upper platform a causeway is run out from the top of the masonry, with sharp-pointed arches stretching down the side of the mound."

Another private letter, from a gentleman residing at Mosul, speaks in the same terms of praise of these new discoveries, and adds some further particulars, regarding the subjects of the sculptures. In speaking of the slab representing the palace or temple alluded to above, he says:—"It represents very minutely the exterior architecture. The second storey is built with pillars, which have their bases on the backs of lions and human-headed bulls, with their heads turned like those found at Khorsabad." He also mentions the representation of a bridge with three pointed arches, and other particulars illustrative of the architecture of the period.

One of the best executed slabs represents a lion hunt. "In this scene," he says, "the king is the principal huntsman, and is in the act of striking a lance into a lion springing upon his chariot, whilst seven others, already pierced by many arrows, some of which are dead, and others dying, are most beautifully and naturally pourtrayed upon the slabs. On another slab they have represented a park,

with an open gate, through which is seen the king hunting lions, executed on a very minute scale, as if they intended it to appear far in the distance." He concludes by saying, "that the art displayed in the treatment of both men and animals in these bas-reliefs surpasses everything yet discovered in the ruins of Assyria."

As the grant voted for the Assyrian excavations carried on by the Trustees of the British Museum is on the point of being exhausted, and as the artist in their employment is incapacitated on account of his health from making any drawings of these highly important discoveries, Colonel Rawlinson suggests that, under these circumstances, the Committee should direct Mr. Loftus and Mr. Boutcher to fix themselves at Mosul for the summer, and thus turn this new discovery to the best account.

The Committee have not hesitated to act on this suggestion. Mr. Loftus and his companion have been directed to conform to Colonel Rawlinson's instructions, and to proceed to the ruins of Nineveh as soon as the season for excavating in Southern Babylonia shall come to a close.

The Committee feel confident that the most important results will be afforded by the new discoveries at Kouyunjik, and that the labours of their artist in this new field will enable them to publish invaluable illustrations of the history, chronology, and art of ancient Assyria.

The Committee take this opportunity of calling the attention of the subscribers to the progress recently made in the decyphering of the inscriptions, which comprise the identification of all the Assyrian kings mentioned in the Bible—of many of those whose names occur in profane history—extending the chronology of Assyria to a period of about two thousand years before Christ. An almost perfect series of the names of the ancient kings of Assyria has also been discovered, and numerous illustrations of the sacred Scriptures, of the highest interest.

Further researches and excavations are alone wanted to render complete this most extraordinary restoration of the history, arts, manners, and chronology of a nation no less important for the position it held amongst the empires of antiquity, than for its intimate connexion with the Jewish people. The Committee therefore appeal with confidence to the public for additional funds, to enable them to persevere in carrying through a work which has been so successfully commenced, which promises results of such vast importance to the illustration of sacred history, and the prosecution of which has hitherto proved so creditable to the British nation.

ASSYRIAN EXCAVATION FUND.

Society for Exploring the Ruins of Assyria and Babylonia:

WITH

ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATION.

Patron.—HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT.

THE limited means hitherto at the command of the British Explorers in Assyria have prevented their carrying on their researches in a systematic manner and on an adequate scale. As yet, according to the accounts furnished by Mr. Layard, only the more recent ruins of Assyria—the surface of the mounds—have been examined, and even these only partially. It is all but certain that the rich discoveries already made by M. Botta and Mr. Layard bear no proportion to the treasures that still lie undetected in the earth. The results of limited exploration, however, have, in connection with biblical and profane history, been of so extraordinary a nature, that it would be matter of deep regret and of national reproach if further excavations on the part of England were now altogether abandoned.

It would appear from a statement by Mr. Layard, that since the publication of his second work, remains have been found of a much earlier period than any previously taken from the Assyrian mounds. From one inscription it would even seem that temples existed of the 19th or 20th century before Christ, ascending almost to the earliest known Egyptian period. The annals of those Assyrian kings who are mentioned in Scripture, and who were closely connected with the Jewish people, have not yet been fully completed, and the chronicles of the wars with Samaria and of the destruction of that city are, as yet, unfortunately not entire, although reference to them has been met with on several fragments. It is believed that diligent research will speedily supply the missing information.

Besides the ruins of Assyria, enormous remains exist in Babylonia which have been scarcely visited by Europeans, and which there is every reason to conclude contain objects of the very highest interest. Owing to the overflowing of the banks of the Euphrates vast marshes are now forming in South Mesopotamia, which threaten ere long to destroy many of the remains entirely. Some indeed are already under water and inaccessible; but others are still free, and will, undoubtedly, upon examination, furnish relics of the first importance. Captain Jones, who, as commander of the steamer on the Euphrates and Tigris, has passed the last thirteen years in these regions, and who, within these few weeks, has returned to this country, distinctly states that funds only are wanting to obtain from South Babylonia or Lower Chaldea the most remarkable additions to the knowledge we now possess of the earliest recorded history of the world.

In order to extend still further the successful labours of Col. Rawlinson and Mr. Layard, the Assyrian Excavation Society has been formed, with the view of raising a fund for the immediate prosecution of the work indicated.

The staff for carrying forward excavations exists; and an expedition has already proceeded to Assyria to carry forward the necessary operations. A photographic artist accompanied the expedition, and will take copies of all objects of interest discovered.

In England facsimiles of the more interesting drawings and inscriptions will be issued from time to time, together with explanatory letter-press, the publication of which Mr. Layard has kindly undertaken to superintend.

It will be less the object of the Expedition to obtain bulky sculptures than to collect materials for completing the history of Assyria and Babylonia, especially as connected with Scripture. These materials consist chiefly of inscribed tablets in stone and in clay, bronzes, bricks and sculptured monuments of various kinds, all illustrating the remarkable advancement of that ancient civilisation. It is confidently believed that the whole history of Assyria may be restored to a very early period, and that discoveries of the most important character will be made in connection with the literature and science of the Assyrian people.

His Royal Highness Prince Albert has been pleased to honour the Society with his countenance and approval, and to head the List of Subscriptions with a Donation of One Hundred Guineas.

It is presumed that the sum of £10,000 will be required to commence operations at once in various parts of Mesopotamia, and to sustain necessary activity during a period of three years. But as it is of the utmost consequence to proceed with the greatest vigour during the first twelvemonth, it is calculated that up to August, 1854, £5000 of the sum named might be expended. In addition to the Donations, it is intended to raise Annual Subscriptions of a guinea each, the payment of which shall entitle the Subscriber to the Reports and Memoirs issued by the Society.

The present undertaking being regarded as a continuation of the researches already commenced by the British Museum, it is determined that the Monuments shall ultimately become the property of the nation.

Donations and Annual Subscriptions are solicited by the Society, and will be received by the London and Westminster Bank, Lothbury, and 4, Stratford Place, Oxford Street; Bosanquet & Co., 73, Lombard Street; by John Murray, Esq., Treasurer, 50, Albemarle Street; also by the Hon. Secretaries at the Royal Asiatic Society's House, 5, New Burlington Street.

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No. II.]

REPORT

OF THE

ASSYRIAN EXCAVATION FUND,

FEBRUARY 20, 1855.

The Committee of the Assyrian Excavation Fund have called together a General Meeting of the Subscribers, to lay before them a statement of the operations carried on by their Agents in Assyria since the publication of the last Report, and to wind up the affairs of the Association, consequent upon the exhaustion of the finances, and the present disturbed state of the East.

They regret to state that the amount of subscription has fallen considerably short of the sum which they had hoped, in the outset, might have been collected for the interesting objects which they had in view; but the outbreak of the war, and other unfavourable circumstances, preclude the prospect of any considerable addition to their means,—and they hope that the extent of the researches, and the value and importance of the discoveries made and information procured, will prove that their limited resources have been turned to the best account.

With the funds at their disposal they despatched to the seat of their operations Mr. Loftus, whose talents and previous experience of the country rendered him eminently qualified for the task. They also made an arrangement by which they secured the services of Mr. Boutcher an accomplished artist; and the Committee has every reason to be satisfied with the selection made, and with the mode in which this gentleman has performed the task allotted to him: the drawings sent home by him being more accurate and more beautiful than any that have hitherto been procured from Nineveh. A brief account of

what was accomplished by Mr. Loftus during the winter operations in Babylonia, in 1853, has been already circulated among the Subscribers, in the First Report of the Society. A great deal of valuable information was collected, and a basis established for future usefulness. As was intimated in that report, a new and most important palace had been discovered at Kouyunjik by the agents of the British Museum, while Mr. Loftus was excavating at Wurka.

The funds voted to the British Museum being nearly exhausted, Colonel Rawlinson urged on Messrs. Loftus and Boutcher to transfer their operations to Nineveh. As it was impossible to carry on excavations in Southern Babylonia during the summer months (in consequence of the inundations, as well as the heat and unhealthiness of the climate), Mr. Loftus accepted this proposal, and sent on Mr. Boutcher at once to draw the slabs already excavated, and followed himself as soon as the excavations he had undertaken were completed.

At first, his excavations at Koyunjik were unsuccessful, but about the beginning of August he lighted on the remains of a building on a level twenty feet lower than the palace which was then being excavated by Hormuzd Rassam, on account of the Trustees of the British Museum, and which, consequently, he had every reason to believe was an entirely independent building; but which now proves to be a lower story or terrace, more carefully elaborated and in better preservation than those previously discovered in these ruins. Their nature will be apparent from the annexed extracts from Mr. Loftus's Reports, received from time to time as the excavations progressed.

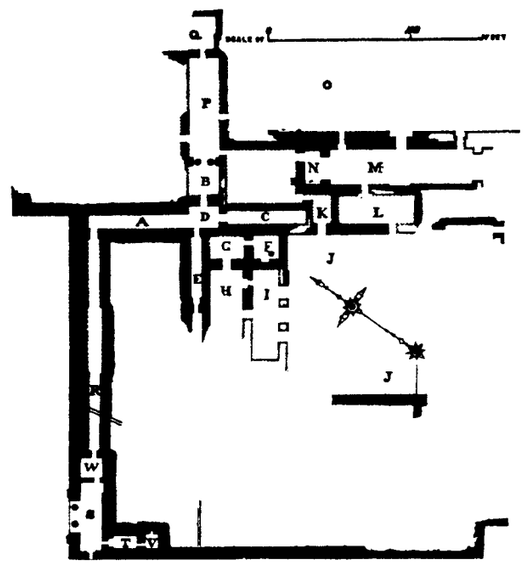
28th August, 1854.

I have at length great pleasure in announcing to you the discovery of highly-interesting sculptures in the mound of Koyunjik.

At about 150 feet to the west of the last slab (No. 9) of chamber E (see plan previously forwarded), and at the very lowest part of the whole mound, a doorway was discovered leading into a sculptured edifice, at least 20 feet below the level of the north palace. Large fragments, and even nearly perfect slabs, from the latter lie strewed in the rubbish several feet above and upon the flooring of the newly-discovered chambers. Many of these are in a state of high preservation.

Three rooms are partially explored. In two the slabs are plain, but the third contains a series of sculptures representing hunting-scenes of great interest and variety. Only 13 slabs on one side of this chamber are yet uncovered: they are divided into three compartments, upon the two upper

of which is exhibited a series of lion hunts, and upon the lowest the chase of the wild horse. I beg to enclose a list of the subjects thus far uncovered in this chamber.



No. 1.

The figures are in high relief, and have much less of conventionality than usual, while the vigour and spirit of the designs, the delicacy of the execution, and the minuteness of detail, place these sculptures far above any specimens of Assyrian art yet discovered. Compared with those still standing in the north palace, the newly-discovered slabs are in every respect infinitely superior.

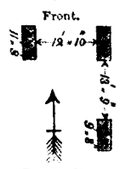
Although it does not come within the object of the Society to remove bulky sculptures, it is to be hoped that the Committee will take measures for securing these valuable works of art, which are deserving a prominent place in our national collection.

I beg to enclose a tracing of the plan of Koyunjik from Mr. Layard's work, in which the positions of the north palace and the new edifice are laid down. The space between the latter and the west edge of the mound is wholly unexplored.

On the east side of the mound, north of the "Tomb," and at the extremity

of the great ravine, the base of a sculptured entrance-slab has been discovered in situ, which will, I trust, lead to further disclosures in that direction.

In the high part of the mound, south of the west roadway [at (*a*) on the plan] was found a brick with a five-line inscription. I am not aware that any record of this king has been hitherto met with at Koyunjik, although his genealogy occurs on a pavement slab discovered by Mr. Layard in the upper chambers at Nimroud, but upon which the father's name is written. The discovery of this brick warrants further search at the south-west corner of Koyunjik.



No. 2.

The excavations at Nimroud have been almost fruitless. The trenches at the south-east palace were worked into those of Mr. Layard without any good result, and are now abandoned.

On the north side of the ravine, opposite to the south-west palace, the legs and bases of three bulls, forming part of the central palace were discovered in situ. Their position and dimensions are indicated in the annexed diagram. Two face the north and one the south, its fellow being destroyed. They are all without inscriptions. Near to the bulls were found some fragments of ivories, carved in outline. They are much broken, but can be restored.

A piece of slab bearing the name of Pul, and a few bricks of the Obelisk King, complete the list of discoveries at Nimroud.

At Koyunjik I have increased the number of trenches to twenty, while those at Nimroud are reduced to five. About 180 men are now employed in the Society's excavations.

At the south extremity of the great enclosure one of the Museum trenches has disclosed several large limestone slabs, bearing a roughly cut inscription of Sennacherib. They appear to form one side of an entrance to the enclosure.

I am happy to inform you that Mr. Boutcher has just completed the drawings of the sculptures in the north palace. He is now engaged in making some enlarged sketches and in finishing up his work. With next month's Report I hope to forward the whole series, together with the original drawings, relating to the excavations in Lower Babylonia.

Chamber A.

South Entrance (west side).—Animal rampant, with lion's body, griffin's feet; extended neck; the head broken off. Following is a figure with the upper half human, the hands in an attitude of wonder; three-horned cap: the lower extremities those of a lion with a boar's tail. This slab is weather-worn at the top.—Size, 4′ 7″ + 3′ 9½″.

Slabs 1, 2, plain.

Slabs 3, 4.—Lion-hunt from the boat. The top and bottom of the slabs represent a jungle, which warriors, with spears and shields, and men with dogs and leashes, are beating. A lion is taking to the river, which occupies the centre of the slab, and in which is a thirty-oared double-banked galley, steered by two huge oars; prow rising into the form of a

horse's head—stern with a high curve. A second lion, springing at the boat, is received at the bow by three spearmen, while the principal person is shooting an arrow at the assailant. A dead lion, pierced with arrows and tied all-fours, is slung from the stern. Slabs much weather-worn and broken at one corner.—Size, 5′ 4″ × 2′ 6″ and 5′ 4″ × 3′ 4½″.

Slab 5.—The same subject continued. Two saddled-horses are being transported in a four-oared boat. Much weather-worn, and broken at one corner.—Size, 5′ 4″ × 3′ 10½″.

Eastern Entrance. — Two slabs bearing the same subject, each divided into two compartments. On the upper are two lion-headed human figures with griffins' feet, facing each other in a menacing attitude: right hands uplifted, holding daggers — left hands with maces (woodcut No. 3). A similar figure appears in the act of stabbing the back of a human-footed figure (?), of which only the legs are left. In the lower compartment is a figure, upper part human, with three-horned cap; body of a lion. The same figure occurs in the Susa Chamber of the North Palace. Very fine slabs.—Size 5′ 4″ × 3′ 8″.


No. 3.

The remainder of the slabs yet discovered in Chamber A are divided into three compartments, upon the two upper of which is represented a series of royal lion-hunts, and upon the lower the chase of the wild horse. The whole series is in high relief, and is the most spirited and truthful of all Assyrian sculptures.

Slab 6.—The upper compartment. A groom leading a saddled horse, preceded by two footmen.—Middle compartment. A very richly-caparisoned horse, led by a man with a spear, preceded by two bowmen.—Lowest. Two men catching a wild colt with a rope: two horses galloping, one kicking viciously. This slab is perfect and beautifully executed.—Size, 5′ 4″ × 2′ 10″.

Slabs 7, 8, 9, have only a portion of the lowest compartment remaining: horses galloping; a continuation of last slab. The fragment of the upper

portion of one of these sculptures found on the floor of the chambers shows the King shooting an arrow. Four bows lie before him with suppliant and dead men. Behind the King are attendants with spears and arrows.

Slab 10.—The lowest compartment only remains. Horses galloping; continuation of the preceding.—Width, 3′ 10″.

Slab 11.—Upper compartment:—A man in a square box, on the top of a cage or trap, pulling up a slide and releasing a lion. Middle:—Men flaying dead lions, and superintended by huntsmen. Four figures, apparently crawling on hands and knees. Lowest:—Horses pursued by dogs, and wounded with arrows. Very fine. Slab broken across the middle, but perfect.—Size, 5′ 4″ × 3′ 9″½.

Slab 12.—Upper compartment gone. Middle:—Two richly-caparisoned saddle-horses, led by a spearman, accompanied by a bowman. Lowest:—The hunter king at full gallop, in the act of discharging an arrow at the wild horses. Two mounted attendants following with arrows and spears. The king wears a long dress slashed at the sleeves, and covered with minute ornament. This fragment quite perfect and beautiful.—Size, 5′ 4″ × 3′ 9″½.

Slab. 13.—Upper compartment:—The King throttling a lion with his left hand, while his right is stabbing the animal through the body. The lion is wounded in the forehead by an arrow; two attendants behind the King, one with bows and arrows, the other leading a horse which appears in Slab 14. Middle:—The King, at full gallop, driving a spear down a lion's throat, as he is in the act of springing. Behind is a stray horse without rider seized by a wounded lion. Lowest:—The King's led horse at a gallop. Behind is another horse, standing, held by a groom. A magnificent slab, very slightly broken at one corner.—Size 5′ 4″ × 3′ 8″½.

25th September, 1854.

In last month's Report, I had the pleasure of announcing the discovery of some exquisitely beautiful sculptures. I am happy to say that a second series has since been uncovered. It is now evident that the five chambers just explored once formed the west angle of the North Palace. They are, as I have already informed you, at about twenty feet below its level. An ascending passage (R of the Plan which accompanies the drawings) undoubtedly connected them with it.

A rough stone basement wall, sometimes fourteen and a half feet thick, faced in square blocks, bounds the exterior of the edifice—a feature now for the first time met with in the Assyrian palaces.

By reference to the Plan, the arrangement of the chambers will be better understood than by any description.

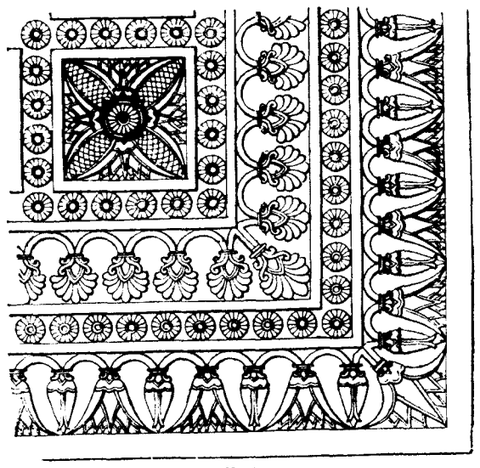
In the Lion Hunt chamber S, the lower halves of four more sculptures, depicting scenes of the chase, have been found *in situ, together with* the circular bases of two columns (six feet diameter) at an important sculptured entrance on the north-west side. The north-east extremity of this chamber is destroyed, but beyond it are traces of a small room, W. To this succeeds the ascending passage R; at the entrance to which there stands a mass of solid masonry—apparently the pier of an arch—the springing of which is formed by projecting horizontal layers of limestone.

At the north-east, or upper end of passage, R, only the bases of slabs

remain; but at the lower *extremity* are *fourteen* sculptures, beautifully executed, and nearly all perfect. The figures are three feet eight inches high—admirable subjects for the photograph.

On the south-east side is represented a procession advancing to the Hunting Field — men and mules, with nets, stakes, &c. for enclosures; led dogs, horsemen, &c. On the opposite side the hunters are returning with the spoils of the chase—dead and wounded lions, hares, birds, &c.

The workmen are now engaged in following the exterior wall of the Palace towards the north-west, and in removing the earth from the interior of chamber S, upon the flooring of which I hope to recover many of the missing fragments belonging to the beautiful sculptures, in situ, on its walls.


No. 4.

Various other sculptures and ornamental pavement slabs (woodcut No. 4) of great interest, fallen from an upper story, lie upon the floors of chambers S, T, V. When the fragments are adjusted I shall send a list of the subjects.

Chamber S of Plan (A of last Report).

Slab 14.—Three compartments; upper gone. Middle:—Two of the King's attendants pursuing the lion, which has seized the horse on Slab 13. One is flogging his horse; the other carries a spear. Lower:—Gazelles and young, browsing.

Slab 15.—Three compartments; upper and middle gone. Lower:—Gazelles in flight; one killed by an arrow, another wounded.

Slab 16.—Three compartments; portion of the lowest only remains. The King on one knee taking aim with an arrow from behind a screen. An attendant handing two arrows.

Slabs 17 and 18.—The lower halves remain. Part of a circular enclosure made with nets; within which wounded deer are in flight over rocks covered with trees; outside are two men,—one staking the nets, the other dragging a dead stag from beneath them.

Slab 1, at entrance (*d*).—Four figures, same as on the upper compartments of slabs 1 and 2 at western entrance (*b*), but on much larger scale:—human bodies with lions' heads and griffins' legs. One corner broken. In a small cell at the base of this slab were five small dogs of clay, painted different colours, each with an inscription on the left side.

Ascending Passage R.

South-East Side.—Journey to the Hunting Field.—Figures, 3 feet 8 inches high.

Slabs 1 to 7 in continuous series; order as follows:—Fig. 1. Eunuch with nets on a long pole over his left shoulder, with pegs attached to edges of the nets. Fig. 2. Eunuch with two poles on shoulder; one thrust through two balls of cord; two rods in right hand; ropes and pegs in left. Figs. 3, 4. Boy leading a mule laden with nets. Fig. 5. Eunuch driving the mule with a stick. Figs. 6, 7, 8, same as 3, 4, 5. Fig. 9, same as 2 (feet destroyed). Fig. 10, same as 1 (feet destroyed). Fig. 11. Eunuch with bundle of stakes. Fig. 12, same as 1 and 10. Figs. 13, 14. Eunuch with lion hound; part of a second dog; the remainder and next slab gone.

Slabs 8 and 9.—Man with dog followed by a man on horseback.

Slabs 10 to 17.—Bases of slabs, legs of men on horses.

North-West Side.—Returning from the Chase.

Slabs 18 to 22.—Bases of slabs, legs of men walking.

Slab 23.—Five Eunuchs carrying a wounded lion on their shoulders; two hold his legs. Head of a second lion (body on the next slab missing).

Slab 24.—Base of slab, legs of men walking.

Slabs 25 to 28 in continuous series:—Four Eunuchs carry wounded lion, as on slab 23. Head on slab 24 missing. Archer guard, looking back. Six Eunuchs bearing dead lion. Eunuch with bird and nest, with young. Eunuch with bird's nest and a dead hare. Two Eunuchs with shields and spears. Archer guard.

9th October.

The excavations carried on at the western angle of the North Palace, Koyunjik, continue to reveal many interesting and important facts, and to determine several points which were previously doubtful:—

1. The existence of an outer basement wall of roughly-cut stone blocks, supporting a mud wall, upon which white plaster still remains, and from which painted bricks have fallen.
2. At this corner of the palace, and at a considerable distance from the principal chambers, is an entrance-hall, with column bases, precisely as we see them represented in the sculptures.

3. Above this entrance-hall and its adjoining chambers there was formerly another story,—the first upper rooms yet discovered in Assyria. This, with its sculptured slabs, has fallen into the rooms below.
4. The various sculptures here disinterred are the works of four, if not five, different artists, whose styles are distinctly visible.

It is evident that this portion of the edifice has been wilfully destroyed, the woodwork burned, and the slabs broken to pieces. The faces of all the principal figures are slightly injured by blows of the axe.

The greater part of the earth has been removed from the interior of the entrance-hall (S of Plan), though without recovering many fragments of the missing sculptures once upon its walls. It is much to be regretted that the series is imperfect.

The chamber above the hall S has also been adorned with representations of royal lion-hunts, &c., beautiful in themselves, but not to be compared with the artistic productions below. The slabs have been a good deal injured in their fall by coming in contact with blocks of masonry; but they have additional value on account of the inscriptions they bear.

The slabs fallen from above into the chamber V are chiefly occupied with processions of captives, &c.

The exterior basement wall is still being followed in both directions from the west angle of the palace, and will, it is hoped, lead to further discoveries.

I have not yet had time to make a list of the sculptures fallen into the chambers from the upper story, but propose doing so before next post. Lion hunts abound; and I have no doubt there will be many duplicates which are not required by the Museum. One slab bears a new subject, I believe. The King is pouring out a libation over four dead lions before an altar, upon which is the jaw and tongue of some herbivorous animal! Upon a second slab is a royal pic-nic! The King lies on a couch, and near him, on a chair, sits one of his wives: they are pledging each other,—perhaps in Shiraz wine. The scene is a date-garden. The couch and chair are beautifully ornamented on the legs with lions couchant and rampant, human figures, columns, and various beautiful designs. On a table is a box with two human-headed bulls cut on the side.

4th December.

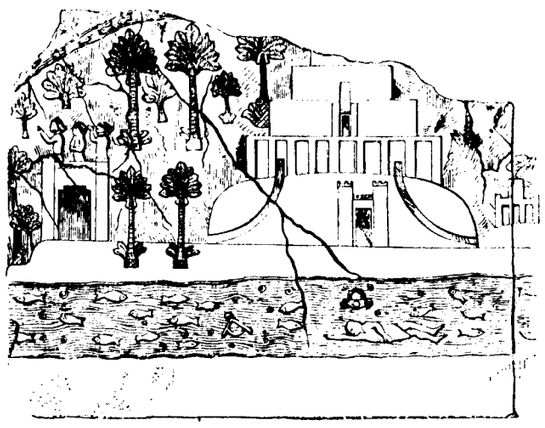
Mr. Boutcher has just finished his drawings of the beautiful sculptures in the west corner entrance-hall (S) of the north palace. In order to exhibit the minuteness of the details, they are drawn one-quarter full size.

Nimroud.—The walls of four new chambers are now partially explored at the north-east angle of the south-west palace, which evidently extended much beyond the east limit previously assigned to it. One of these chambers measures 80 feet by 20 feet. About twenty-four slabs are uncovered, the greater part being bas-reliefs from the north-west palace. The sculptured surfaces are placed at random, facing the chambers or the mud-brick walls, and are much damaged by fire. Two slabs, however, from some other locality are inscribed with long records of Tiglath-Pileser, only fragments of whose inscriptions have hitherto been met with.

The most remarkable discovery made during the last month is that of a

tomb, seventeen feet below the chambers of the south-east edifice. It was rudely constructed of stone, and contained the remains of three human bodies, a copper hatchet, knife-blade and spear, and several small articles. Close to it was a brick of the son of Ashurakhpul, which proves that this portion of the mound is of much later construction than the north-west palace.

The information indicated in these reports, and illustrated by Mr. Boutcher's drawings, forms a very valuable contribution to our stock of knowledge regarding ancient Assyria; more especially the drawings, which delineate some subjects quite new to Archæologists,

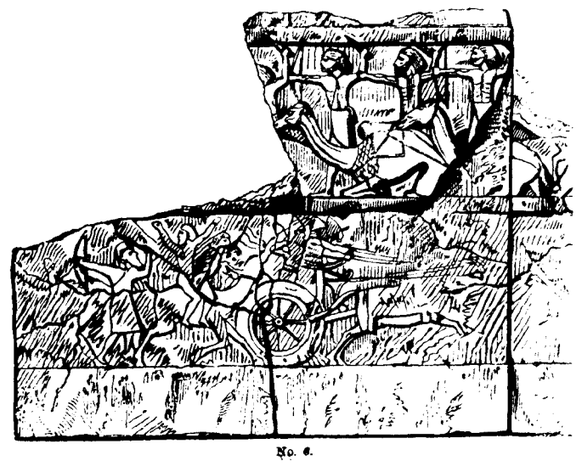


No. 5.

such as the four-storied temple shown in the annexed woodcut (No. 5); standing on a mound, with a gateway in front and two inclined pathways leading up to it. This is the only representation of such a temple yet found in the sculptures; though the excavations of Mr. Layard at Nimroud, and of Col. Rawlinson at the Birs Nimroud, prove that the great Temples there consist, like this, of a panelled base, surmounted by several stories, each less in horizontal dimensions than the one below it.

Judging from the description we have of the temple of Belus, it is

probable that the erection in the centre of the story above the basement is the niche in which was placed the statue or image of the deity

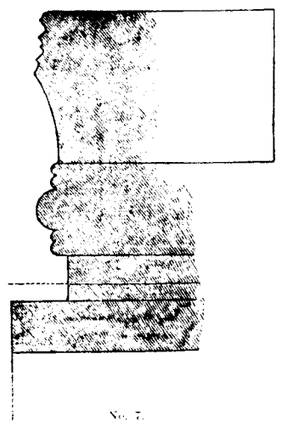


No. 6.

to whom the temple was dedicated. (No. 6) represents the Arabs dismounted from their camels and fighting behind them, a mode of warfare practised by them in the present day—and is interesting as showing how little the customs of these countries are changed from the remote antiquity to which these sculptures belong.

Several architectural mouldings have also been discovered in the excavations, one of which is drawn in section in woodcut No. 7, showing the strong affinity that had before been remarked as existing between the architectural mouldings of the Egyptians and those of the Assyrians; and there is also much that is new in the sacred and domestic scenes portrayed

One of the spirited bas-reliefs



No. 7.

in them, and the whole of the drawings are executed with a fidelity and beauty that leave nothing to be desired. The last work executed by Mr. Loftus has been the detailing of the highly important inscriptions relating to Sennacherib's Expedition to the Holy Land—from the mutilated bulls—a work of some difficulty. It will, however, be satisfactory to know that these valuable records have been packed and are on their way to the Museum.

Although, therefore, no such important discoveries have been made by the Association as those which rewarded the first explorers in this field, it is satisfactory to think that this Association has, in conjunction with the British Museum, examined every important locality between Mosul, on the north, and Mugheyr, near the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, on the south, and has left no promising site unexplored in the valley of these two great rivers.

Their most successful undertaking has been the completion, to a great extent, of the brilliant discoveries of Mr. Layard at Koyunjik and Nimroud. In the same manner, little or nothing has been done by the French Commission, except extending M. Botta's discoveries at Khorsabad; beyond this, they have been less successful than ourselves, and their labours have been rewarded by no discovery of any importance.

On the other hand, we may congratulate ourselves, that when the collections made by M. Place, and those procured by the agents of the British Museum, and the Fund, are added to those already sent home by M. Botta and Mr. Layard, a mass of materials will have been collected in illustration of the history, the arts, and customs, of the ancient kingdom of Assyria and Babylonia, such as is hardly surpassed by the monumental illustrations of any nation of antiquity; and without the timely aid applied to accelerate the discoveries, many of them might have been destroyed during the periods of anarchy which so frequently occur in these misgoverned countries.

If anything further is attempted in Mesopotamia, it must be on a scale, and at an expense exceeding anything that has hitherto been found necessary. Trenches must be sunk deeper and made wider in the great mounds; or such operations undertaken as laying bare the Birs Nimroud, which alone, Colonel Rawlinson calculates, would cost more than £2000. Even if the necessary funds were forthcoming, the disturbed state of the country would probably render such extended operations impracticable, and at the present moment they are not, of course, to be thought of.

Under these circumstances the Committee see no reason to

be dissatisfied with their first year's operations. The results obtained in Babylonia have been interesting and important; the palace explored at Nineveh being singularly rich in beautiful sculptures,—and but for the fortunate presence of their artist, these, as well as many discovered by the agents of the British Museum must have perished without any record of them having been preserved. They hope also that they may add, that it was their example which stimulated the Trustees to apply for further funds, and to resume the excavations which they had abandoned.

The expenses hitherto incurred have naturally been considerable, as they include all the outfit of the expedition, and the expense of sending Messrs. Loftus and Boutcher to the spot. These sources of expenditure not existing in subsequent operations, the whole amount would have been devoted to excavation and research.

In July last it became necessary for the Committee to determine what course they should pursue for the future. The money they had collected was nearly all expended. A conditional offer of 500*l.* was made on the part of the King of Prussia, which, however, the Committee did not feel justified in receiving till perfectly assured that they could fulfil all the conditions attached to that grant, which they are not at this moment in a position to do.

At the same time it was tolerably evident that in a season of commercial difficulty, and during the intense excitement of a great war, it was useless for the Committee to appeal to the Public for further subscriptions, unless they had made some discovery so important as to excite attention and curiosity, even in such a time as this.

On the other hand, it daily became apparent that they were in reality doing the same work in which the Trustees of the British Museum were engaged,—they were exploring the same palace at Mosul, examining the same mounds in Babylonia, and virtually acting under the same officer,—Colonel Rawlinson being the agent of the British Museum in these countries, and the acting Member of the Committee for the purposes of the Fund. Under these circumstances, overtures were made to the Trustees for an amalgamation, and being favourably received by them, it was agreed that as soon as the requisite arrangement could be made, this Society should hand over to the Trustees, their Staff, and whatever funds might remain after meeting all outstanding liabilities. The Museum authorities agreeing to continue the explorations, and to communicate to the Society all the results obtained from them.

We cannot conclude without observing that the sudden death of

our late lamented Secretary, Mr. Samuel Phillips, has deprived the Committee of a most active and intelligent officer, whose energy and zeal contributed greatly to the establishment of the Association, and to its successful working thus far, and whose loss will consequently be most severely felt by the Members.

The Committee trust that, taking all these circumstances into consideration, the subscribers will be convinced that they have acted for the best, and done what was most likely to secure the continuation of the explorations for which they were associated; and they have every reason to believe that they will be prosecuted with vigour by their late Staff under the auspices of the Trustees of the British Museum.

THE TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH THE ASSYRIAN EXCAVATION SOCIETY.

DECEMBER 30TH, 1854.

Dr.

	£	s.	d.
To Amount of Subscriptions received to this Date	2461	16	0
Viz. per Treasurer and Bankers	2254	0	0
Viz. per Messrs. Bosanquet and Co.	167	16	0
	2461	16	0
To Amount received by Mr. Loftus for Sale of Old Stock, three Camels, &c., as per his Account	10	14	44
	£2472	10	44
To Balance in the Treasurer's hands this day	344	0	0

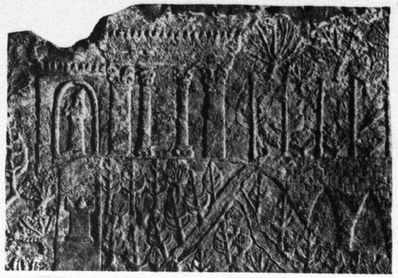
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	£	s.	d.
By Expenses as per Mr. Loftus's Account for Travelling; Carriage of Books and Furniture; Escorts, Servants and Dresses; hire of Mules, purchase of Camels, Tents, &c. and general Excavation expenses, as per his Statement for the quarter ending December 31st, 1853	370	17	11
By Ditto ditto ditto March 4th, 1854	330	3	0
By ditto ditto June 30th, 1854	241	15	7
By ditto ditto September 30th, 1854	240	17	0
By four Quarters' Salary to Mr. Loftus	200	0	0
Petty Disbursements per Mr. Macnamara	27	0	0
By one Year and one Quarter's Salary to Mr. Macnamara	135	0	0
By Cash paid to M'Call of Birmingham, for Bore rods, &c., as per Account	10	17	6
By Printing and Extras, printing Prospectuses, &c.	22	11	0
Advertising in Daily Newspapers, &c.	20	15	0
By three Quarters' Allowance to Mr. Boutcher, to July 1st	60	0	0
By Whymper's Account for engravings to Mr. Loftus's First Report	5	0	0
By Cash paid to Mr Dickenson, on account of Mr. Boutcher.	25	0	0
By Cash paid Freights paid by Bankers	0	5	6
By Cash paid Mr. Loftus's Bills drawn on account to September 30th, 1854 (transferred to Colonel Rawlinson)	139	3	2
Balance	344	0	0
	£2472	10	44

Examined with the Vouchers, and found Correct,

J. W. HOSANQUET.

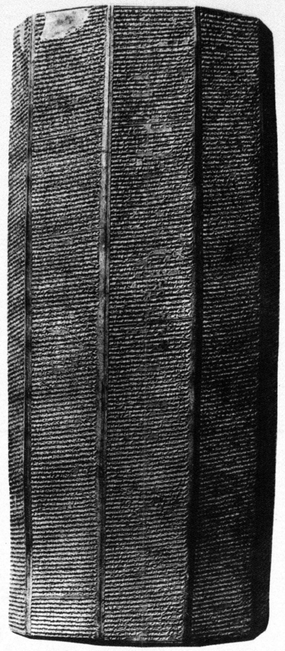
February 20th, 1855



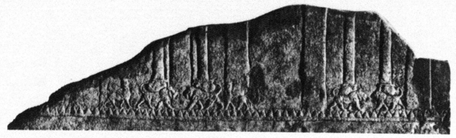
Part of BM 124939 View of a pavilion with a stele and columns having Corinthian Capitals and cushion-bases, possibly at Nineveh. See Plate XXIII



BM 91989 Miniature cushion-shaped column base and pedestal



BM 91026 The "Rassam Cylinder" inscribed with annals of Ashurbanipal's reign and description of his building work



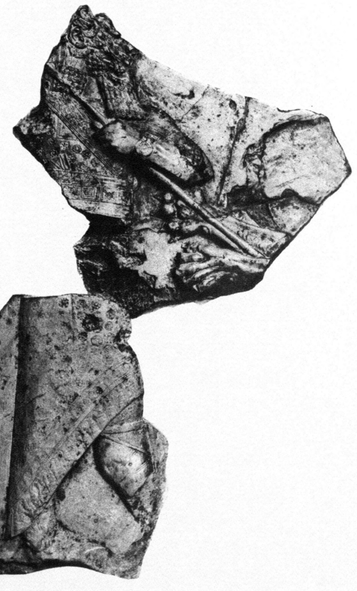
Part of BM 124938 View of a palatial portico with columns supported by lions and sphinxes, possibly at Nineveh. See Plate XXIII



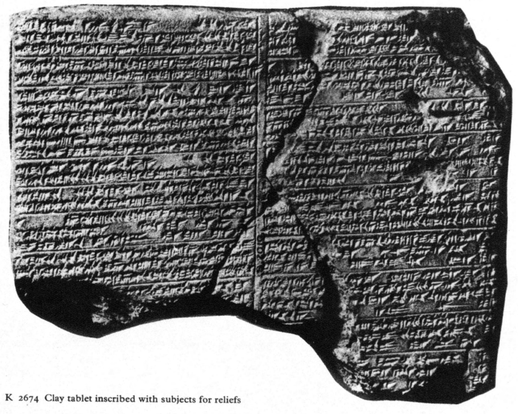
BM 90954 Model of a column base in form of a sphinx



BM 90864 Stele commemorating Ashurbanipal as rebuilder of E-Sagila



BM 93011 Sculptor's model in clay for a relief similar to those on Plate LVII



K 2674 Clay tablet inscribed with subjects for reliefs



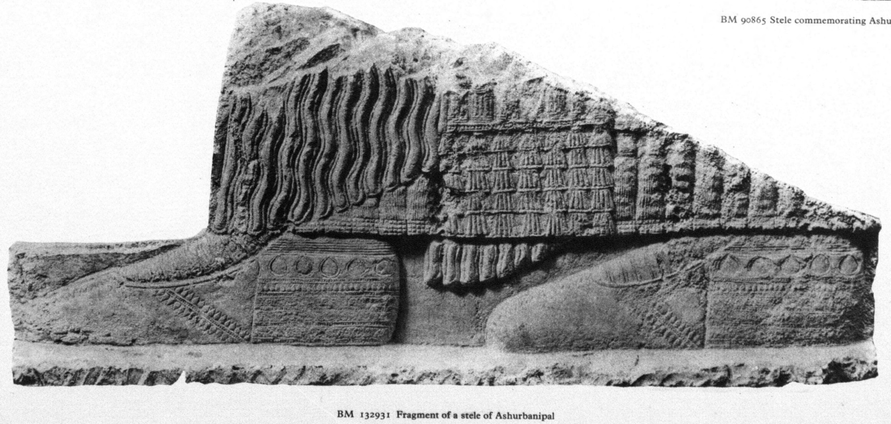
BM 90865 Stele commemorating Ashurbanipal as rebuilder of E-Zida



K 1268 + Sm 488
Clay tablet inscribed with a sculptor's letter

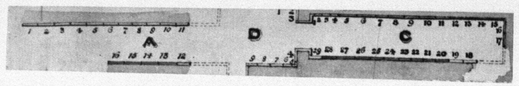


BM 30001-5 Apotropaic clay figures of dogs, inscribed with their names; found concealed below a doorway relief. See Plate XLV



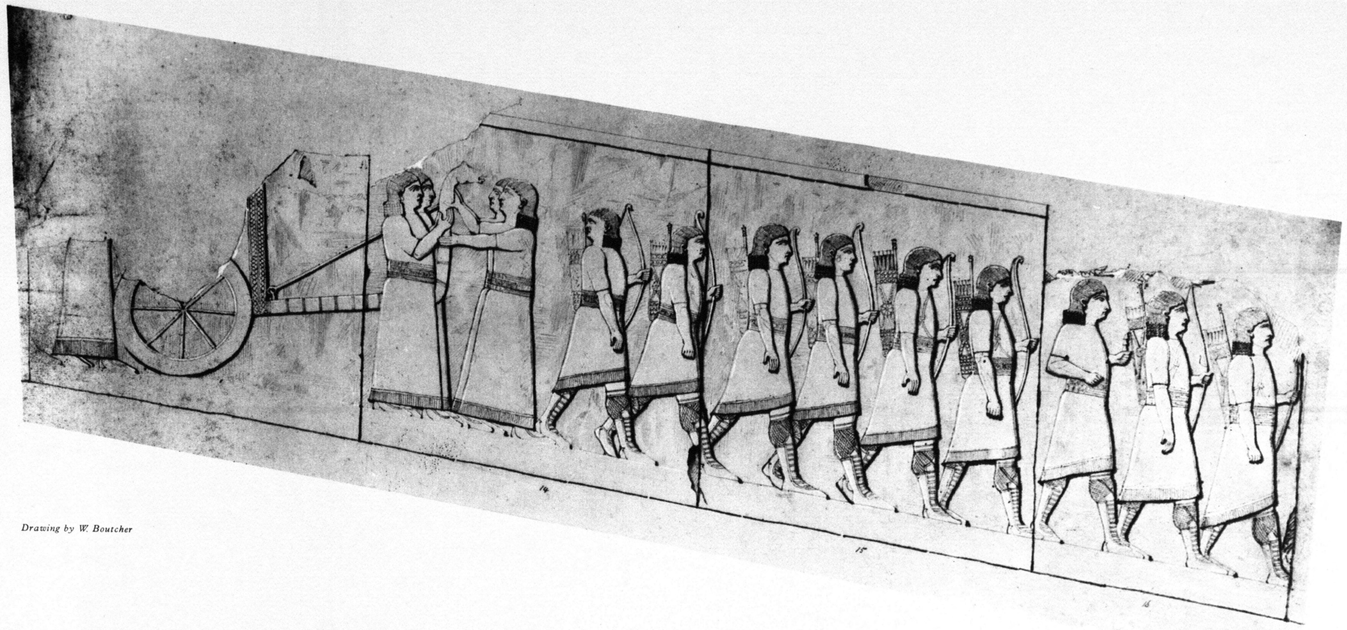
BM 132931 Fragment of a stele of Ashurbanipal

OBJECTS ILLUSTRATING THE KING'S BUILDING ACTIVITY



SLABS 13-15

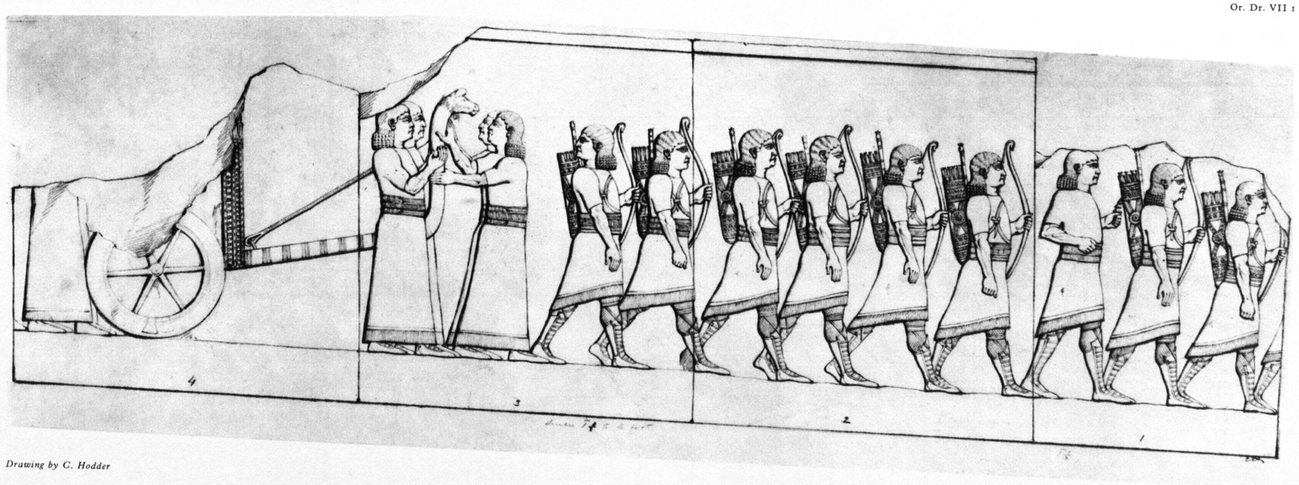
(a)



Drawing by W. Boutcher

Or. Dr. VII 1

(b)



Drawing by C. Hodder

Or. Dr. V 35

(c)



Detail by W. Boutcher (SLAB 15)

Or. Dr. VII 2

THE ROYAL BODYGUARD AND SERVANTS BRINGING BACK THE KING'S HAND-CART FROM THE CHASE

SLAB 13

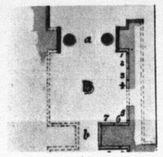
SLABS 14–16

LOST

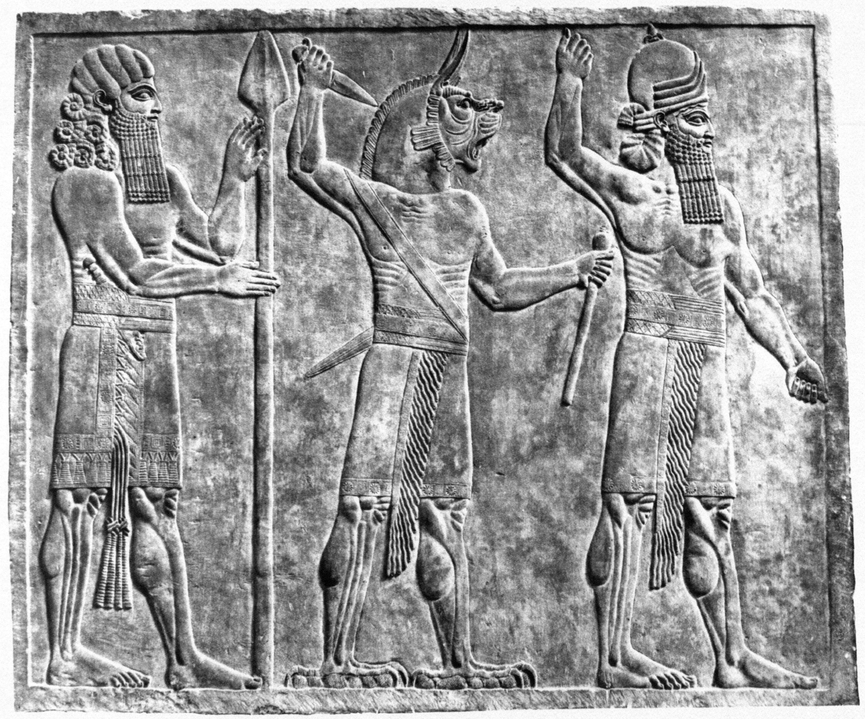


LOUVRE 59.

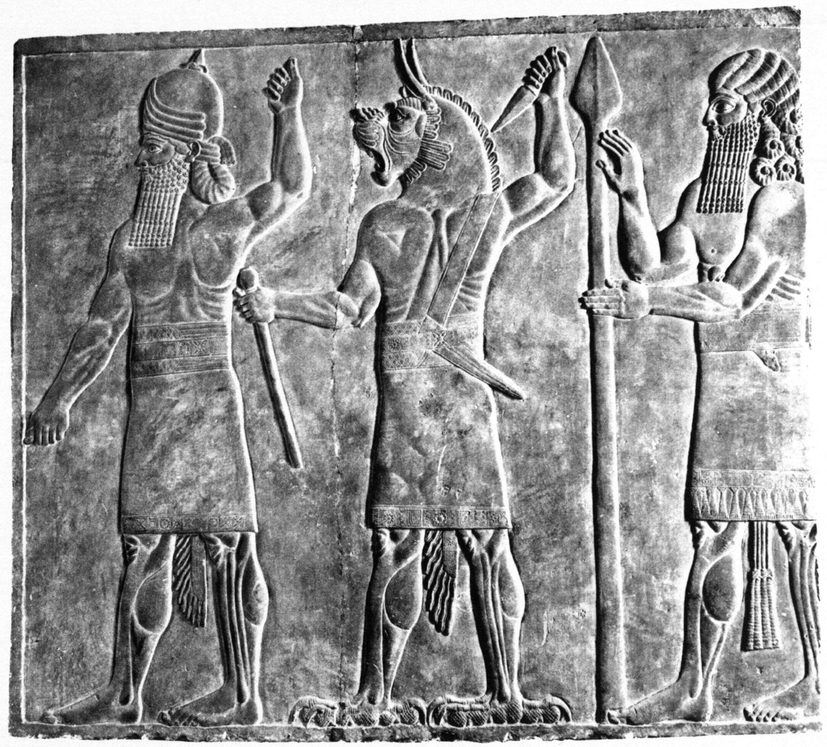
THE ROYAL BODYGUARD OF ARCHERS



ENTRANCE (a)



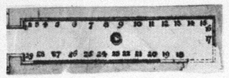
BM 118918



BM 118917

GUARDIAN FIGURES OF THE DOORWAY

ROOM C (North East Wall)

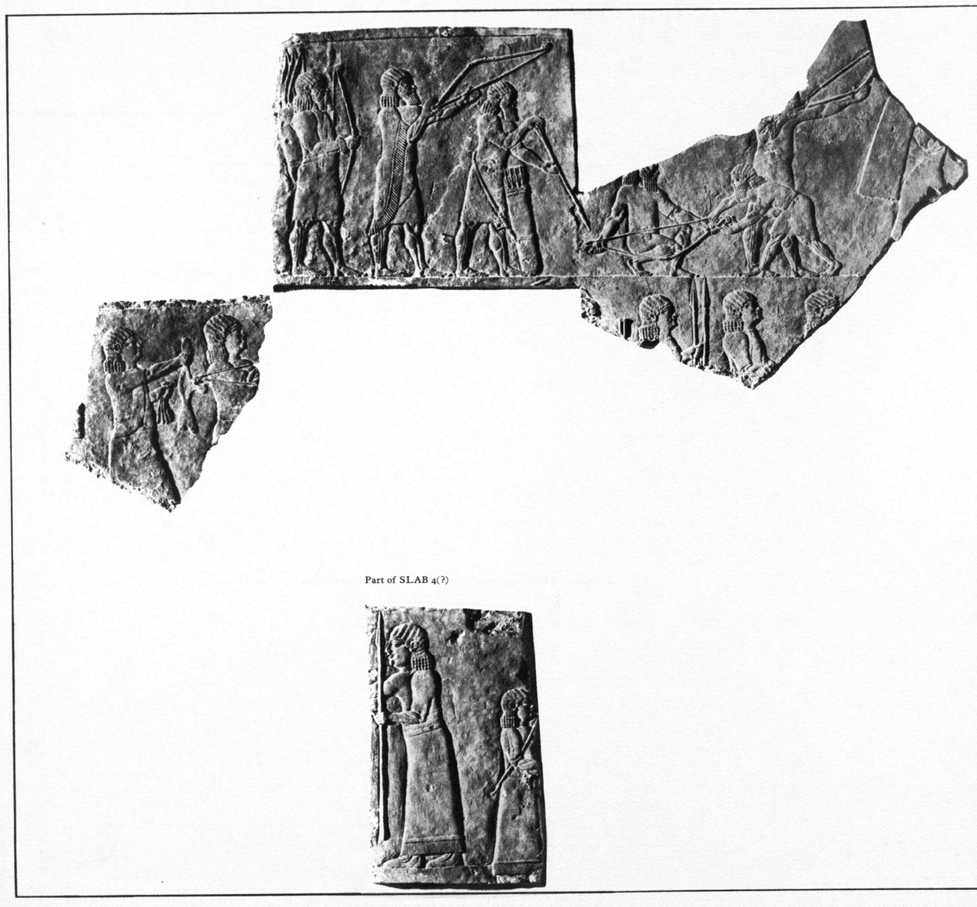


Part of SLAB 2 or 3(?)



Detroit, Institute of Arts, 44811

SLAB 4



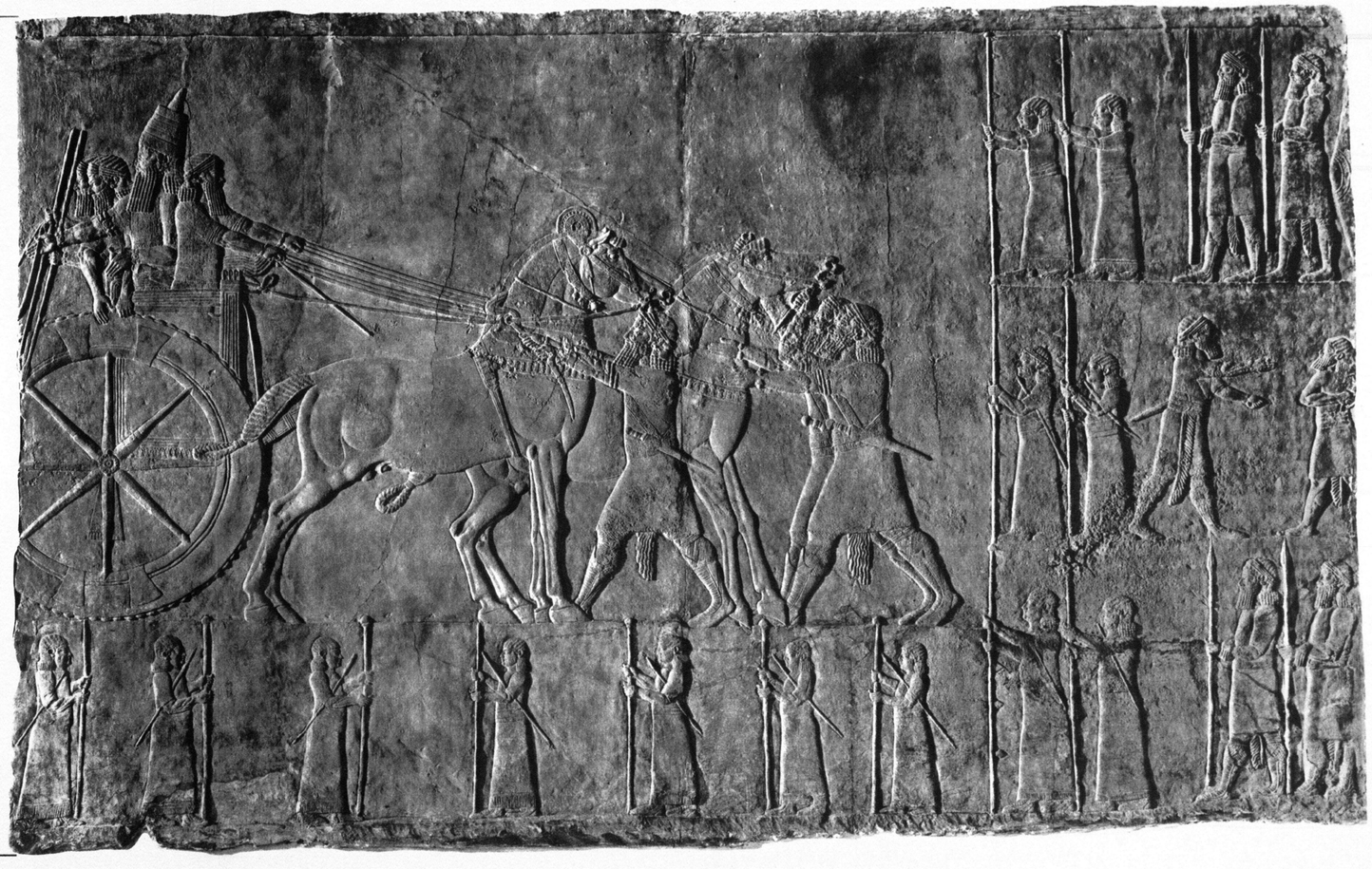
Part of SLAB 4(?)

BM 124884

BM 124781

PREPARING THE KING'S WEAPONS
PREPARING THE ENCLOSURE

SLABS 5-6



BM 124858-9

THE KING IN HIS CHARIOT IN THE ENCLOSURE

THE ROYAL LION HUNT

ROOM C (North East Wall)

SLABS 7–10



BM 120860–3

THE KING'S HORSES BROUGHT TO BE HARNESSED

THE CITIZENS OF NINEVEH CLIMBING A WOODED HILL TO WATCH THE HUNT

THE WALL OF GUARDS

THE ROYAL LION HUNT (continued)

ROOM C (North East Wall)

SLABS 10–12



BM 124863–5

HUNTSMEN AND MASTIFFS

DYING LIONS AND A LIONESS

THE ROYAL LION HUNT (continued)

ROOM C (North East Wall)

SLABS 13–15



BM 124866–8

ROOM C (North East Wall)

SLAB 15 (continued)

SLAB 16 (corner view)



BM 124868

BM 124869

[CORNER OF ROOM]

(South East Wall)

SLABS 16 (frontal view) and 17



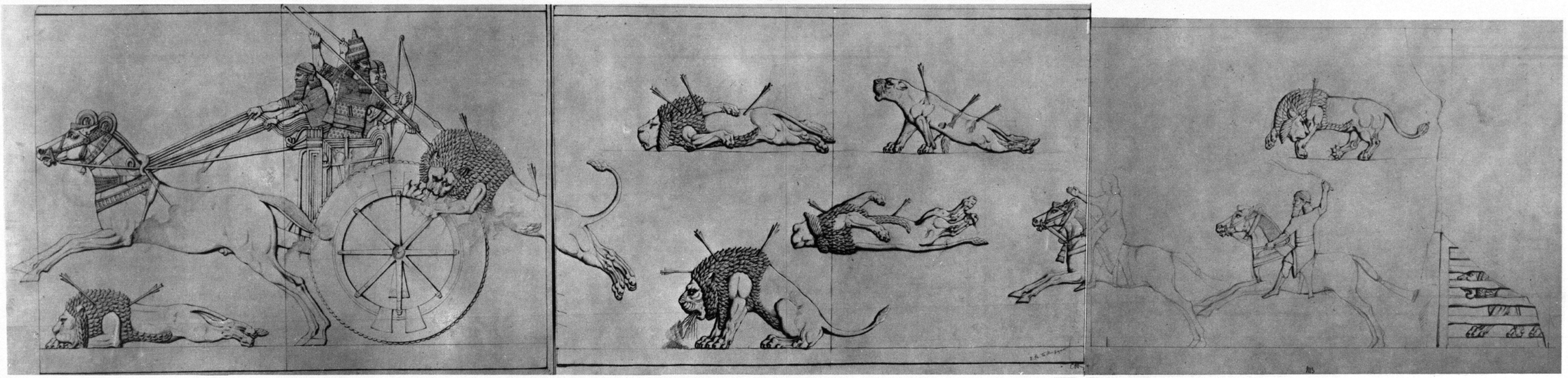
BM 124869-70

LION RELEASED FROM A CAGE

THE WALL OF GUARDS

THE ROYAL LION HUNT (continued)

SLABS 23-28



Drawings by C. Hodder

Or. Dr. V 37 (BM 124853-4)

Or. Dr. V 38 (BM 124855-6)

Or. Dr. V 36 (BM 124857 & 124883)

THE ROYAL LION HUNT (2ND SERIES)

ROOM C (South West Wall)

Slabs 20–21



BM 124850–1

ROOM C (North West Wall)

SLABS 22–25

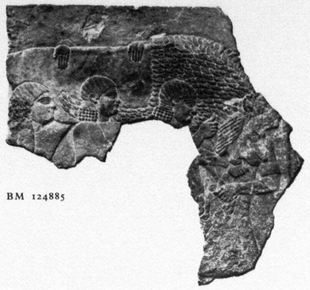


BM 124852–5

THE ROYAL LION HUNT (continued)

ROOM C (South West Wall)

SLAB 29(?) (fragment a)



BM 124885

SLAB 29 (?) (fragment b)



Photo: Mansell 1055

THE DYING LION

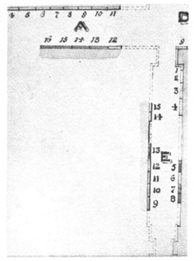
SLABS 25-28



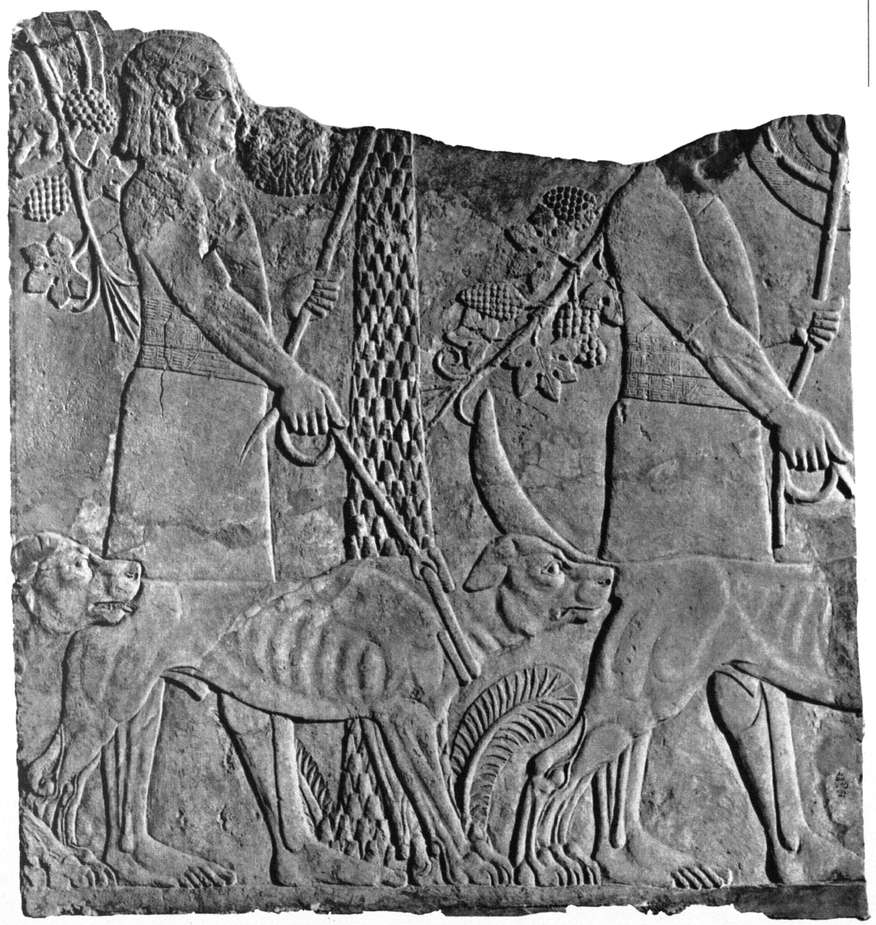
BM 124855-7

BM 124883

THE ROYAL LION HUNT (concluded)



SLAB 13 (?)



BM 118915

ATTENDANTS WITH HOUNDS

PART OF SLAB 4(?)



BM 127370

SLAB 5



BM 118916

MUSICIANS WITH A TAME LION

SLABS 7-8

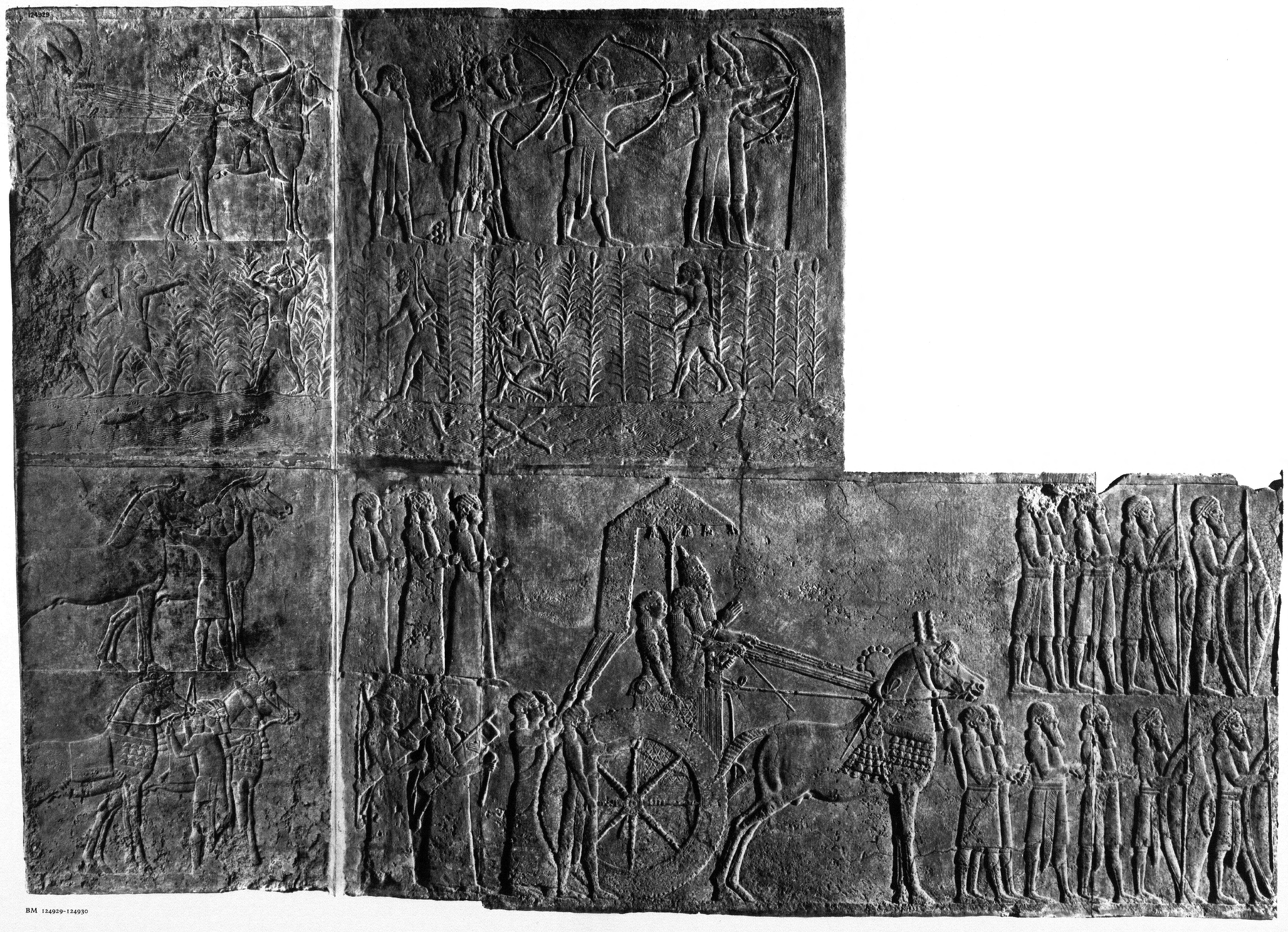


BM 118914

LION AND LIONESS IN A GARDEN



SLABS 1-2



BM 124929-124930

(a) THE KING CONDUCTS THE ASSAULT OF THE ELAMITE CITY OF HAMANU

(b) THE KING RECEIVES PRISONERS FROM ANOTHER CITY

ROOM F (continued), (North East Wall)

Slabs 3–4

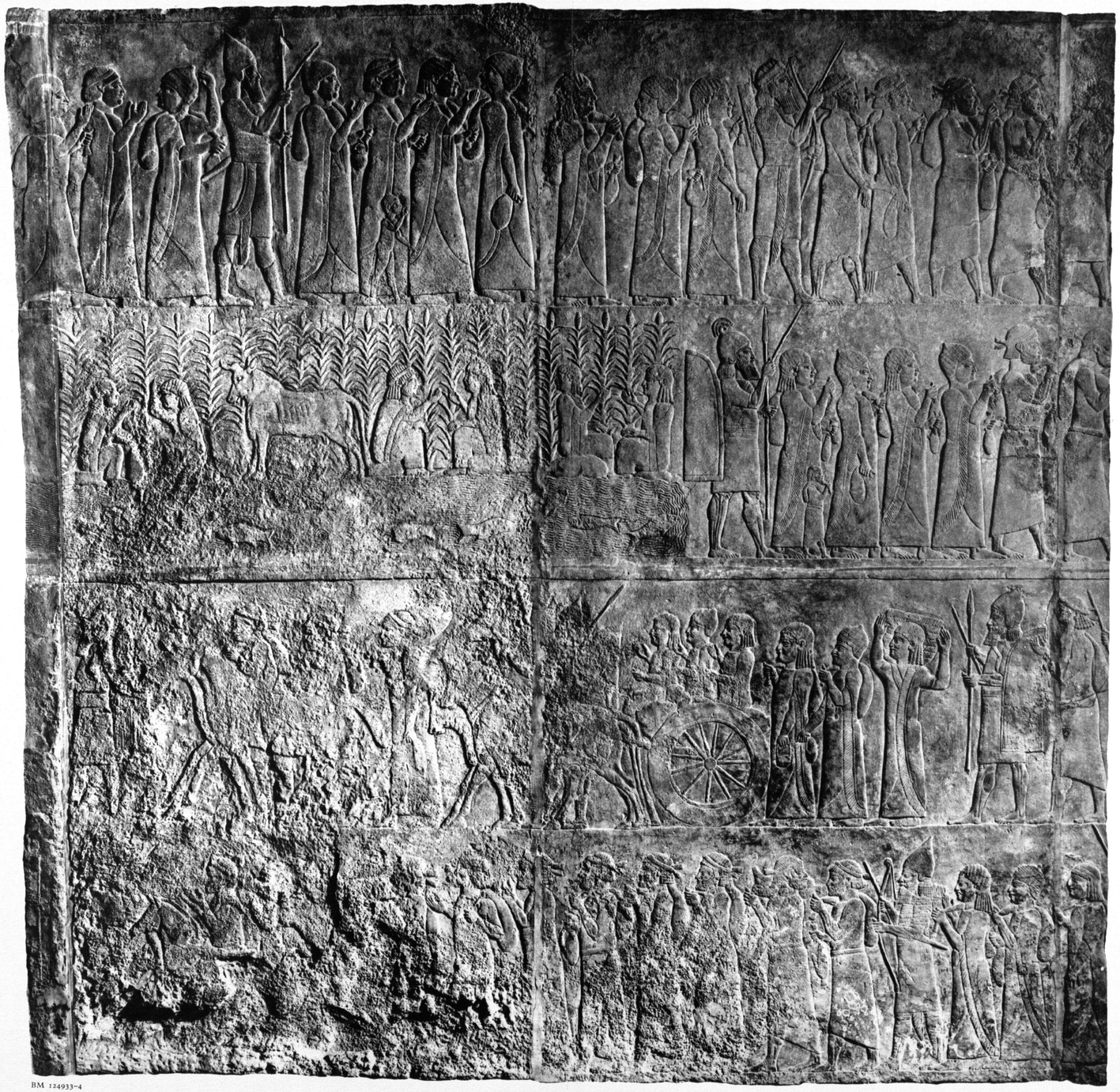


BM 124931–2

(a) THE ASSAULT OF HAMANU AND THE EXODUS OF PRISONERS; ELAMITES HIDING IN THE MARSHES

(b) COUNTING OF PRISONERS AND BOOTY

SLABS 5–6



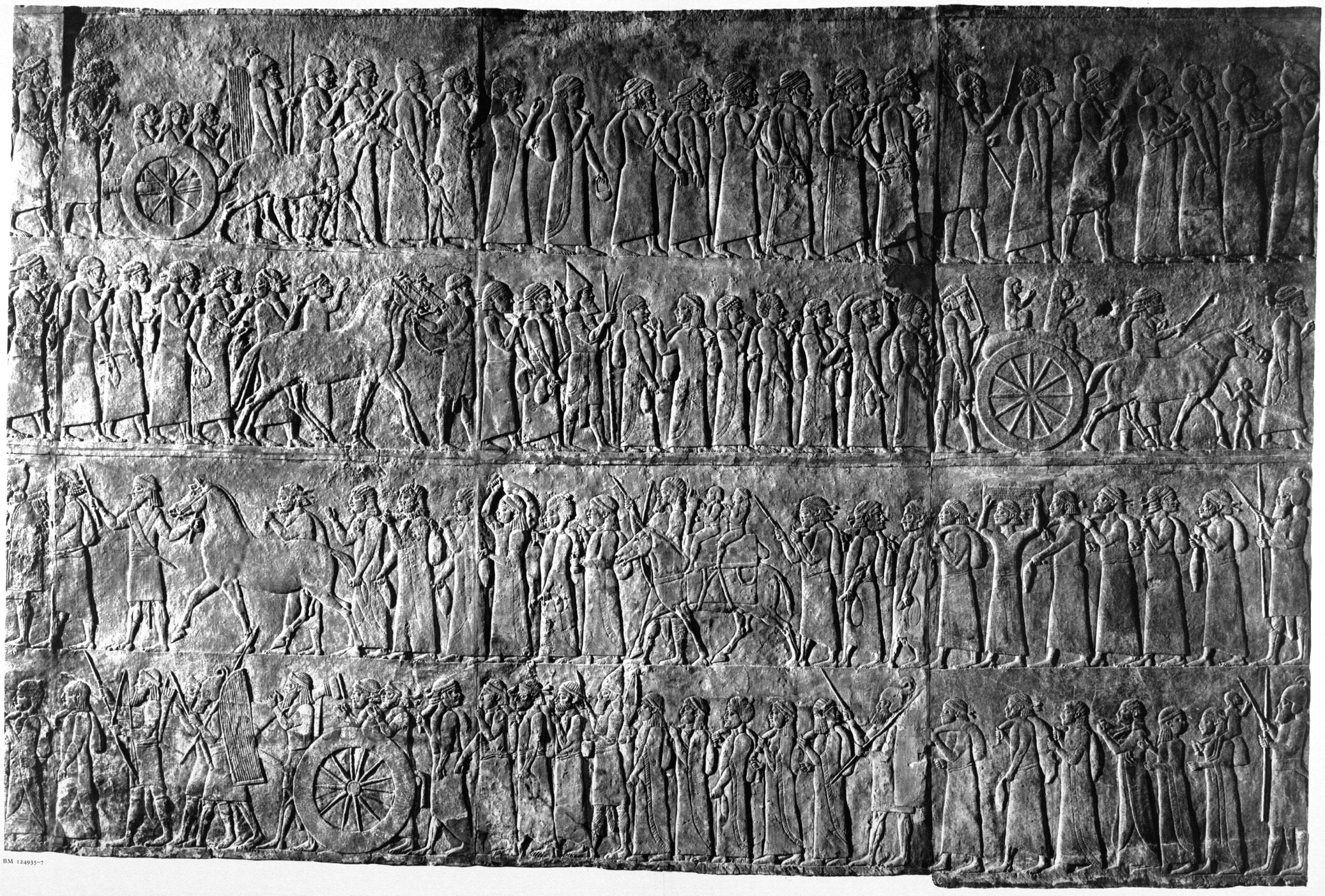
BM 124933–4

(a) THE EXODUS OF PRISONERS; ELAMITE WOMEN HIDING IN THE MARSHES

(b) THE PRISONERS MARCHED AWAY

ROOM F (continued), (South West Wall)

SLABS 7–9

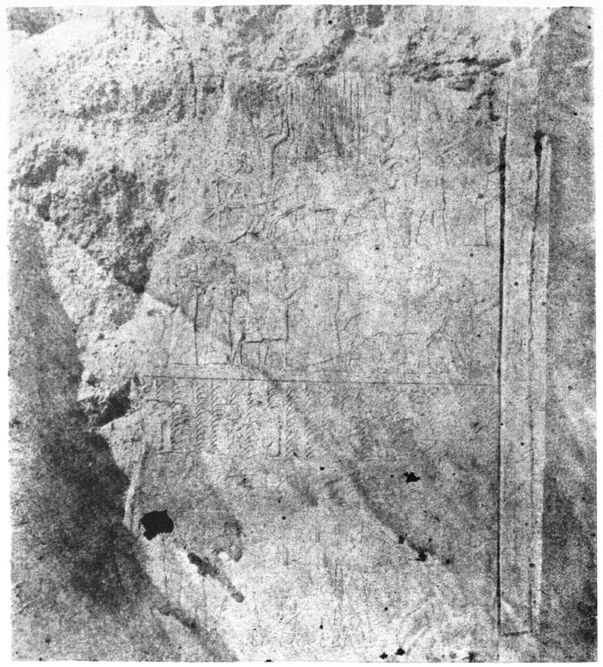


BM 124935–7

HAMANU: THE EXODUS OF PRISONERS

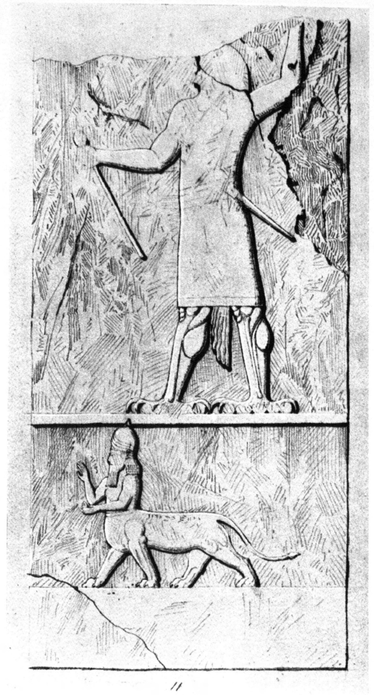
ROOM F (continued)

SLAB 10 (original lost)



From a photograph (1854(?)) Or. Dr. VII 3

SLAB 11 (original partly lost)



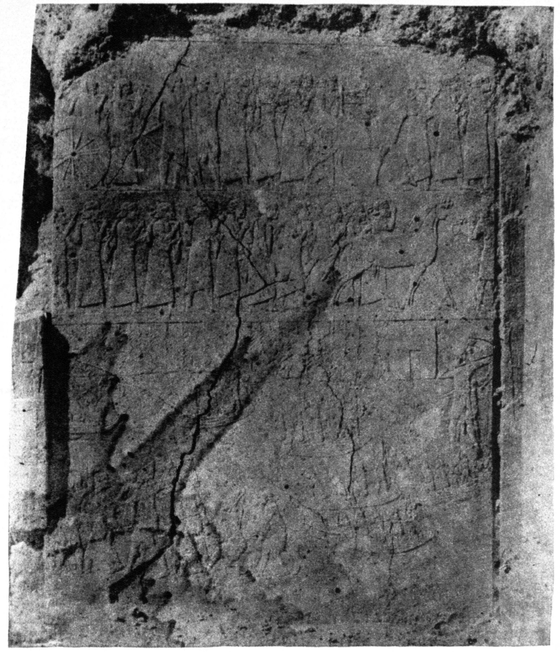
Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. VII 4 (Lower part: LYONS see below)

[SLABS 12-13 lost]

[12 = lion-headed monster etc.
13 = similar to 11]

[RECESS]

SLAB 14 (original partly lost)



From a photograph (1854(?)) Or. Dr. VII 5

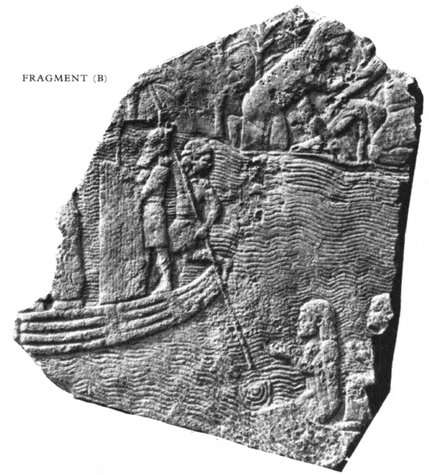
FRAGMENTS OF SLAB 14

FRAGMENT (A)



VATICAN 14990

FRAGMENT (B)

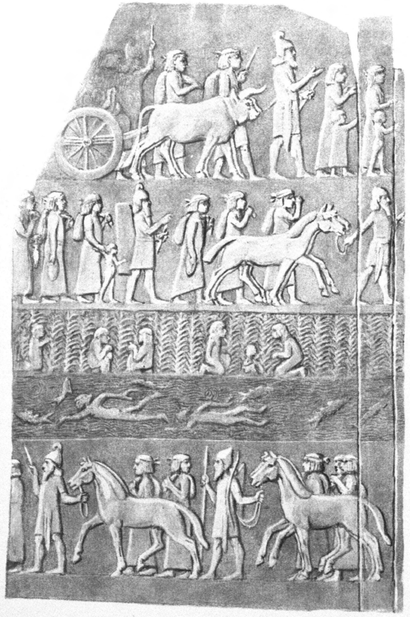


LOUVRE AO 19923

FRAGMENT (C) (?)



LENINGRAD 7389



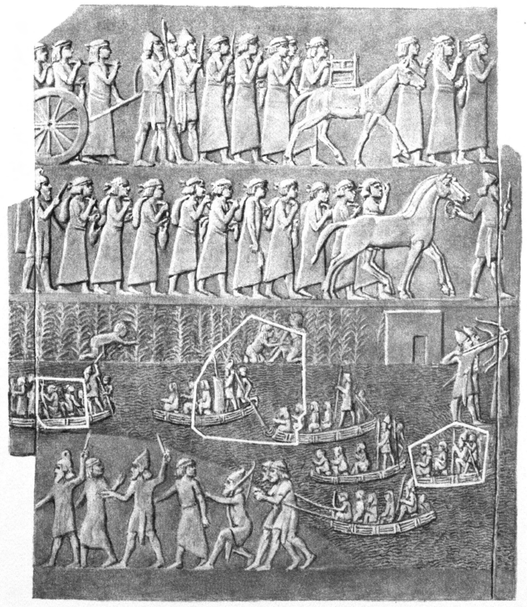
Drawing from the above photograph by M. Howard (1969)

SLAB 11 (part)



LYONS, Mus. de l'Oeuvre Pontificale

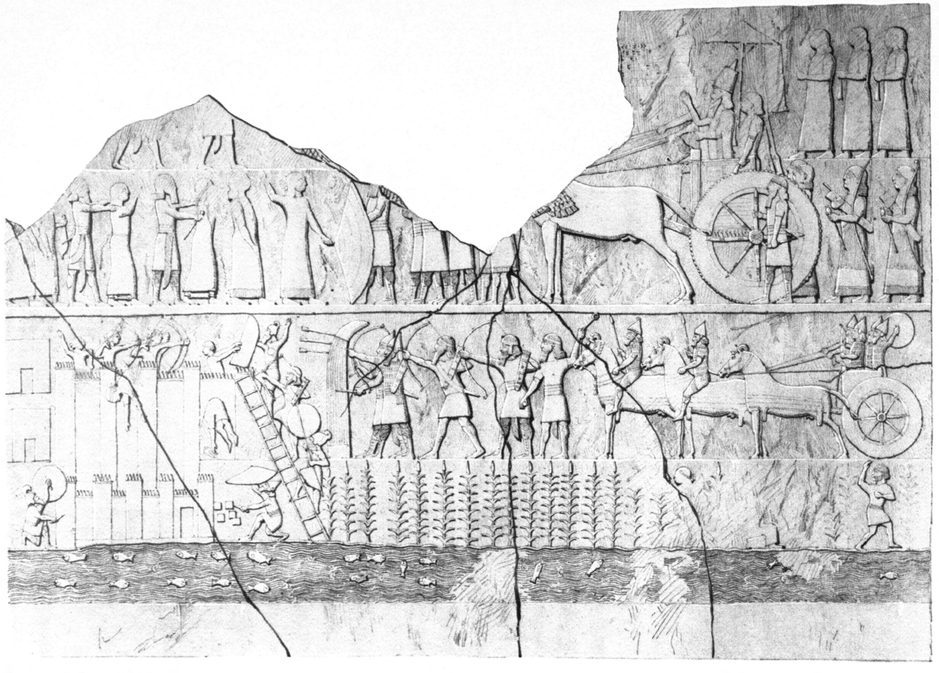
THE EXODUS OF PRISONERS



Drawing from the above photograph by M. Howard (1969) with surviving fragments marked

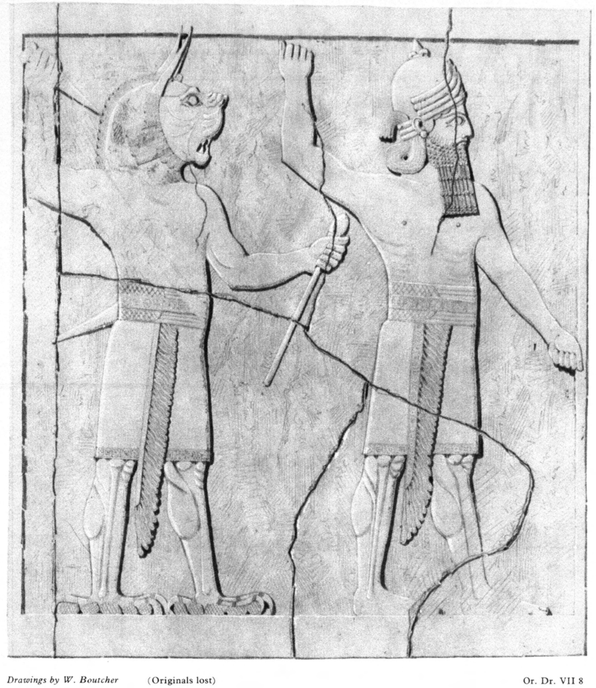
GUARDIAN FIGURES

SLAB 15

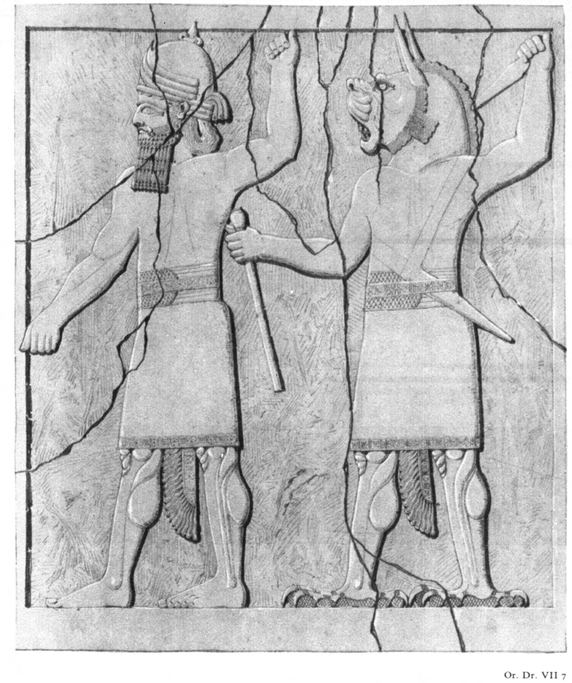


Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. VII 6 (Original mostly lost)

DOORWAY (a): SLABS 2 & 1



Drawings by W. Boutcher (Originals lost) Or. Dr. VII 8



Or. Dr. VII 7

FRAGMENTS OF SLAB 15

FRAGMENT (A)



BALTIMORE, Walters Art Gallery 21.6

FRAGMENT (B)



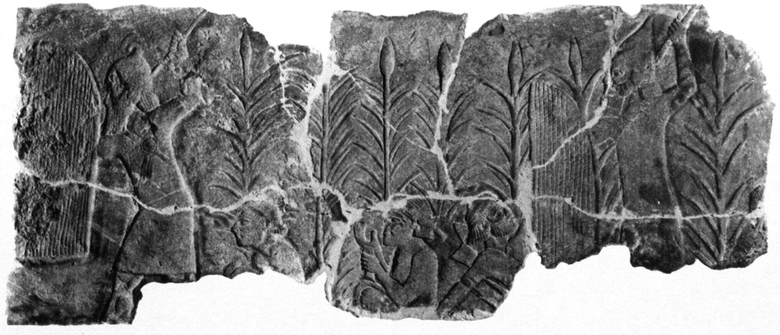
ROME, Barracco 7

FRAGMENT (C)



LOUVRE, AO 2254

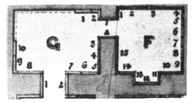
FRAGMENT (D)



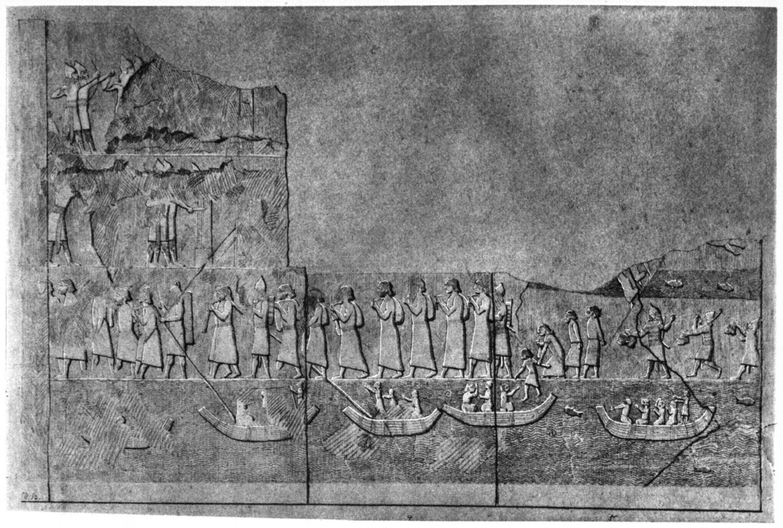
DURHAM, Mus. of Or. Art and Archaeology

THE SURRENDER OF HAMANU

GUARDIAN FIGURES



SLABS 3–5



Drawing by W Boutcher Or. Dr. VII 9 [Louvre AO 22202] [Istanbul 1001]

FRAGMENT OF SLAB 6(?)



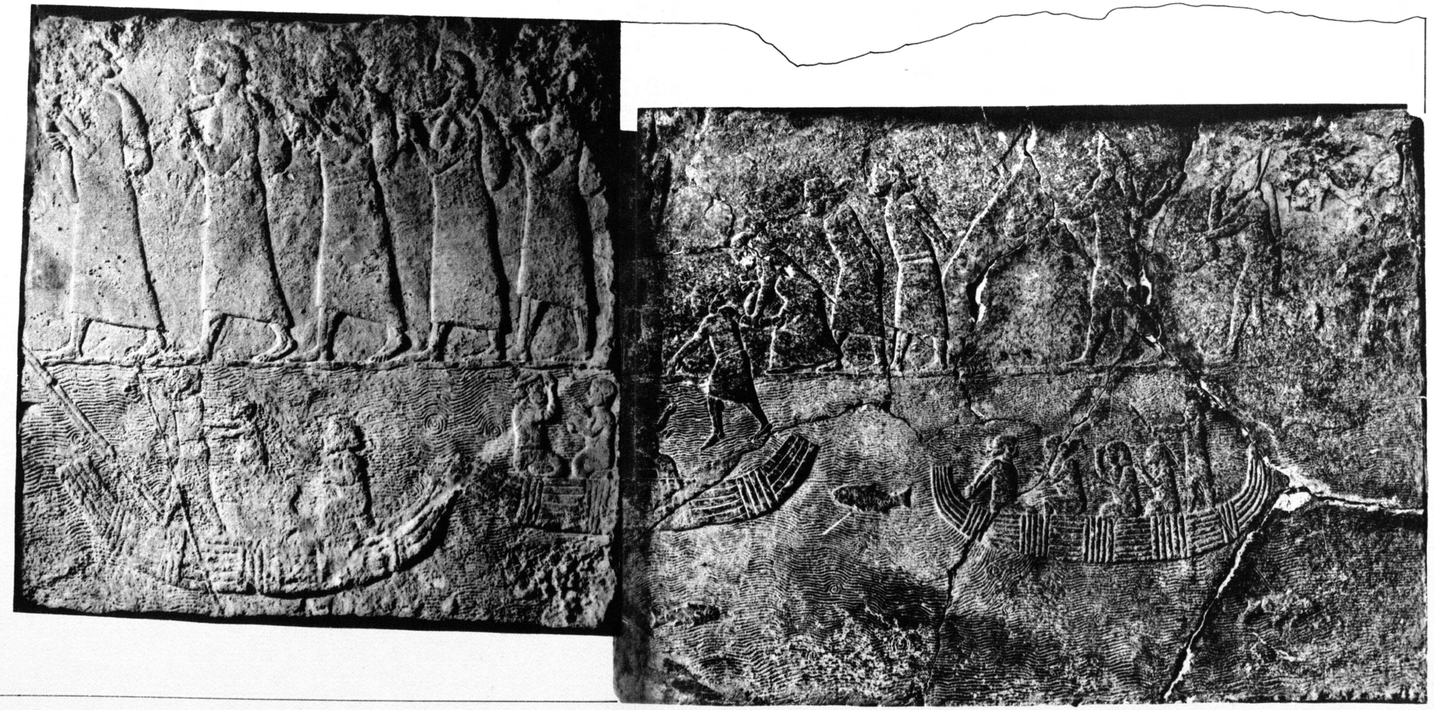
IST^{A}NBUL 29

SLAB 3

(Lost: see drawing above)

SLAB 4

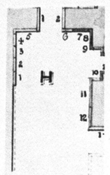
SLAB 5 (lower part)



LOUVRE AO 22202

ISTANBUL 1001

ELAMITE PRISONERS FROM A CITY BY THE RIVER



PART OF SLAB 11 or 12(?)



BAGHDAD IM 31071

SLAB 7



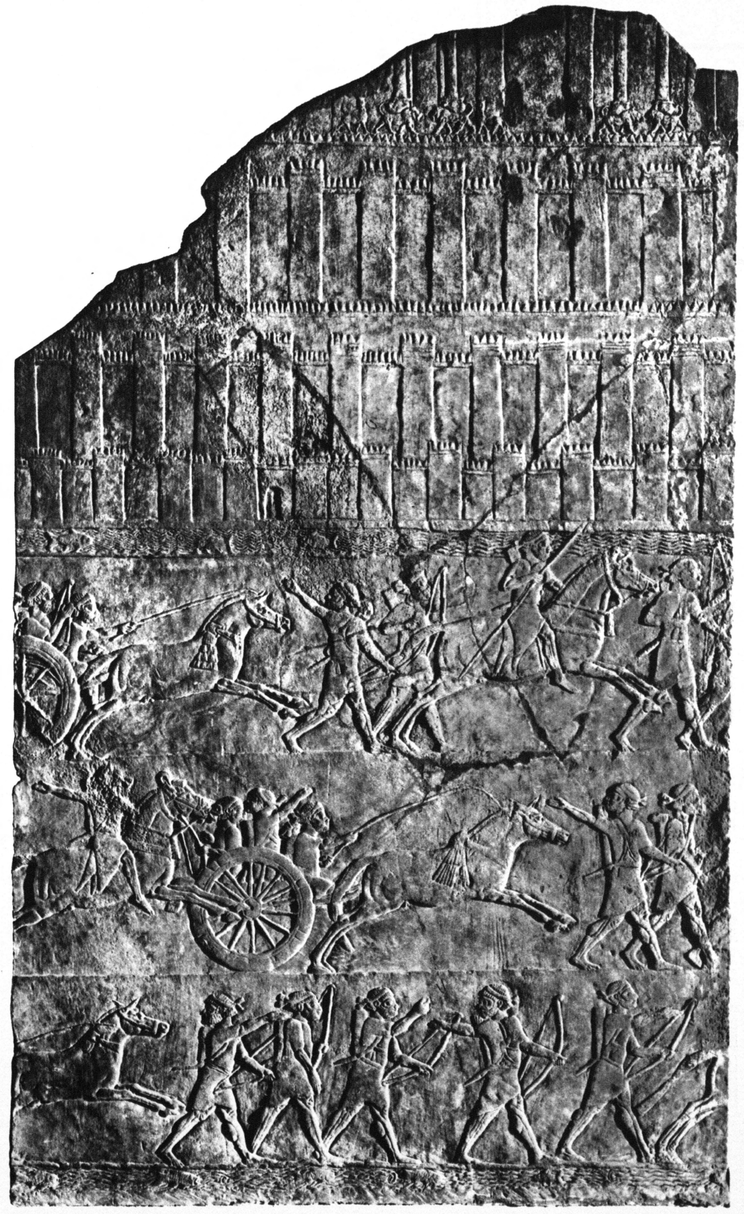
BM 124940

SLABS 8–9(?)



BM 124939

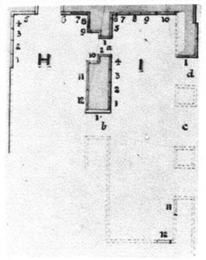
PART OF SLAB 10(?)



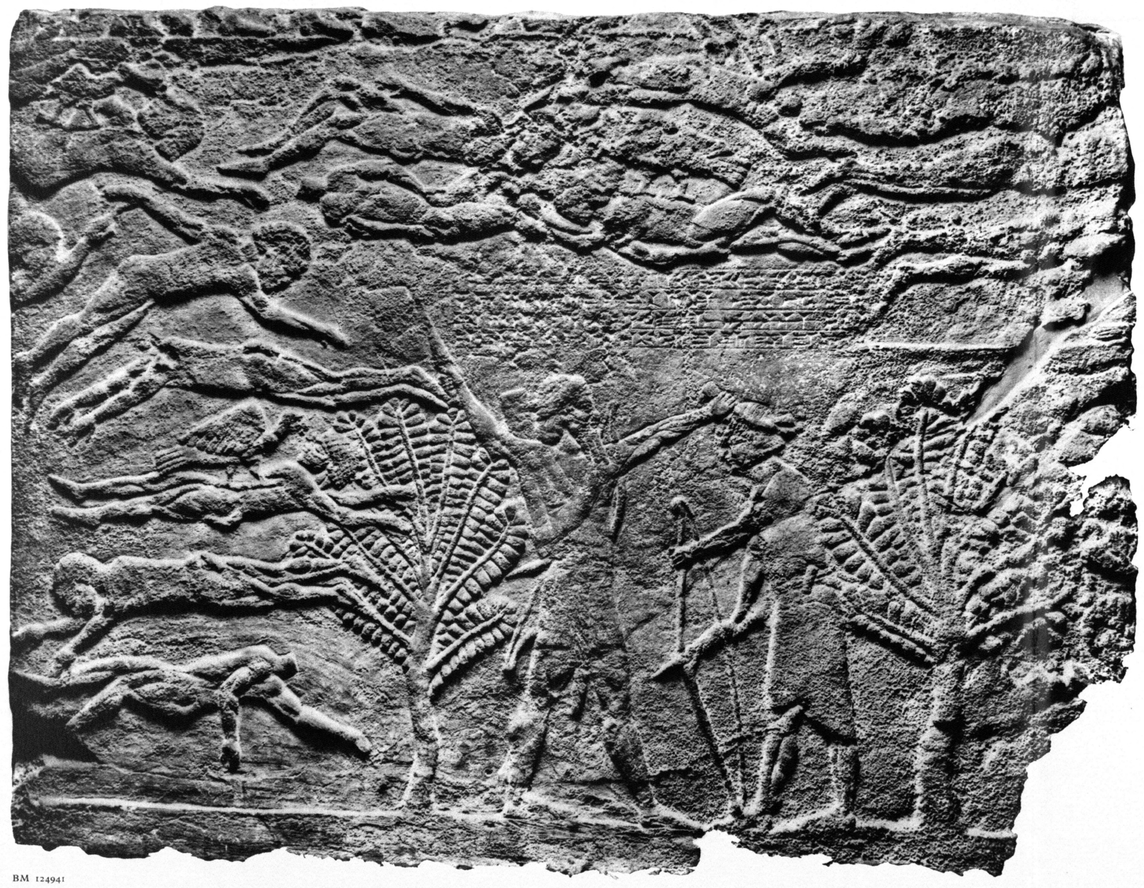
BM 124938

A TRIPLE-WALLED CITY AMONG GARDENS, PERHAPS NINEVEH OR ARBELA

ELAMITES HASTENING TO THE BATTLE



SLAB 1 (part of lower register)



BM 124941

POSSIBLE FRAGMENTS

(a)



LOUVRE AO 22201

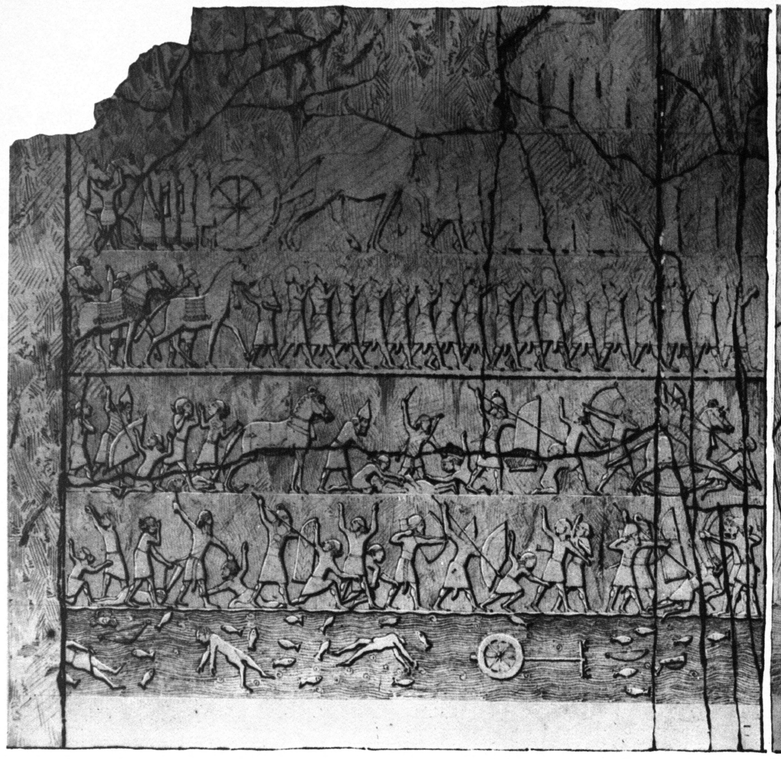
(b)



LOUVRE AO 22199

AN ASSYRIAN EXECUTING AN ELAMITE OFFICER, ITUNI, ON THE BATTLEFIELD

SLAB 5



Drawings by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. VII 11

SLAB 6 [Corner]

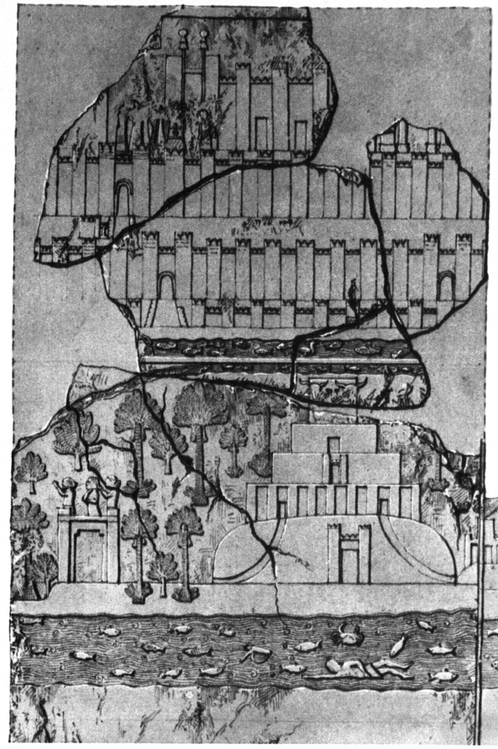


(originals mostly lost) Or. Dr. VII 12

SLAB 7

(SLAB 8 lost)

SLAB 9



Or. Dr. V 1

SLAB 10

(lower part lost) Or. Dr. VII 14 (lost)

FRAGMENT OF SLAB 5



ROME, Barracco 5

(a) PROCESSIONS OF PRISONERS TO THE CITY OF ARBELA

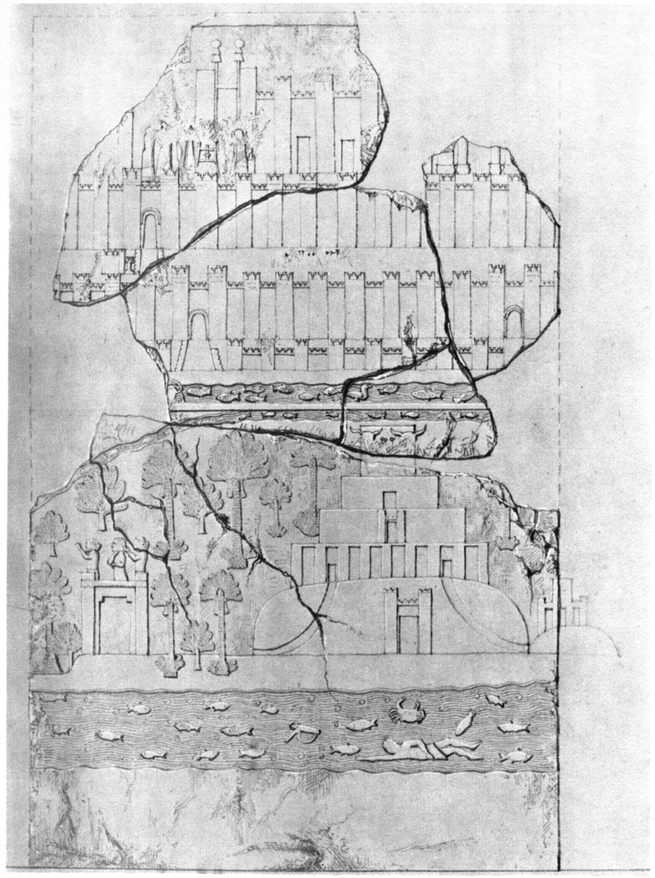
(b) THE BATTLE OF THE ULAI RIVER BESIDE A CITY WITH A ZIGGURAT

PART OF SLAB 9



LOUVRE AO 19914 (See also Plate XXVI)

SLAB 9



Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. V 1

(a) THE CITY OF ARBELA (detail)

(b) SURRENDER OF A CITY WITH A ZIGGURAT

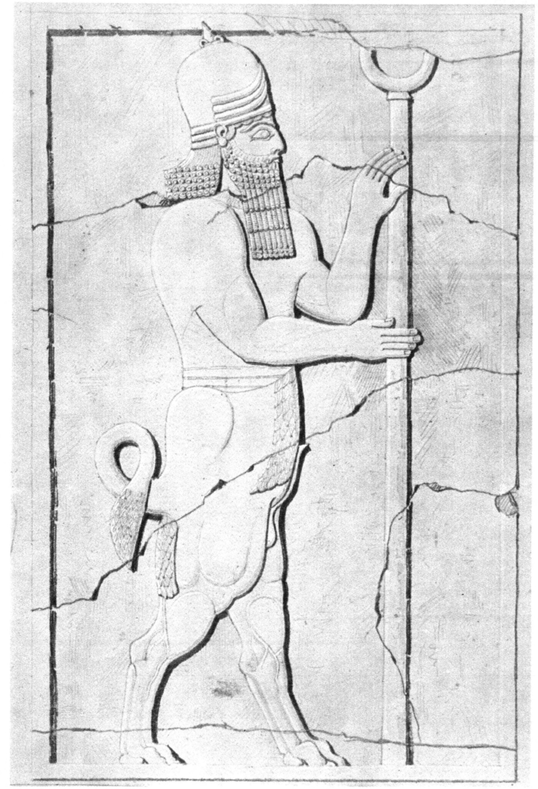
SLAB 9 (part)



LOUVRE AO 19914

ENLARGED PART OF SLAB 9 (See also Plate XXV)

ENTRANCE (a) SLAB 1

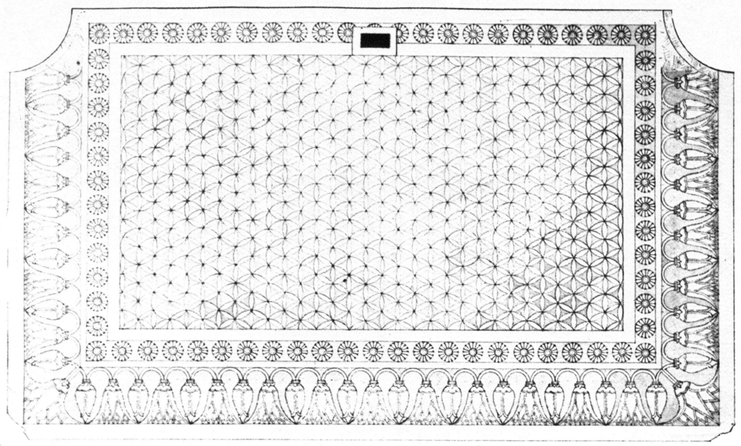


Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. VII 1

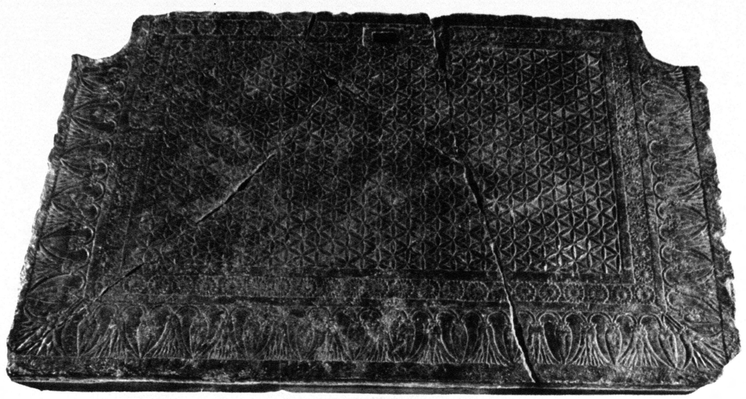
A GUARDIAN FIGURE



ENTRANCE (b) OR (d)

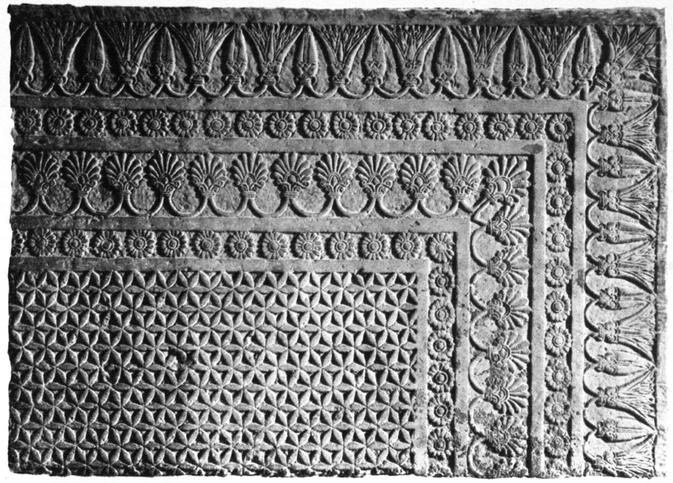


Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. V 59 [Louvre AO 19915]

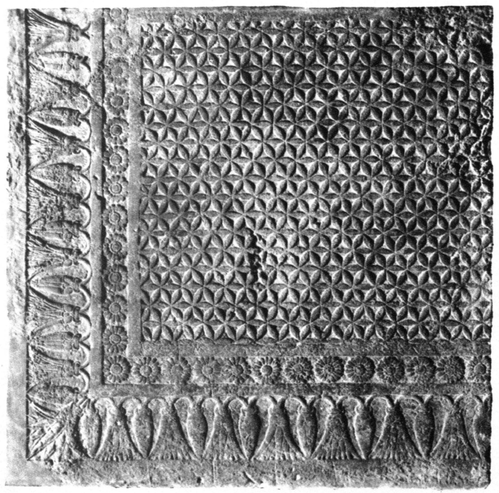


LOUVRE AO 19915

ENTRANCE (b) OR (d)



BM 118910



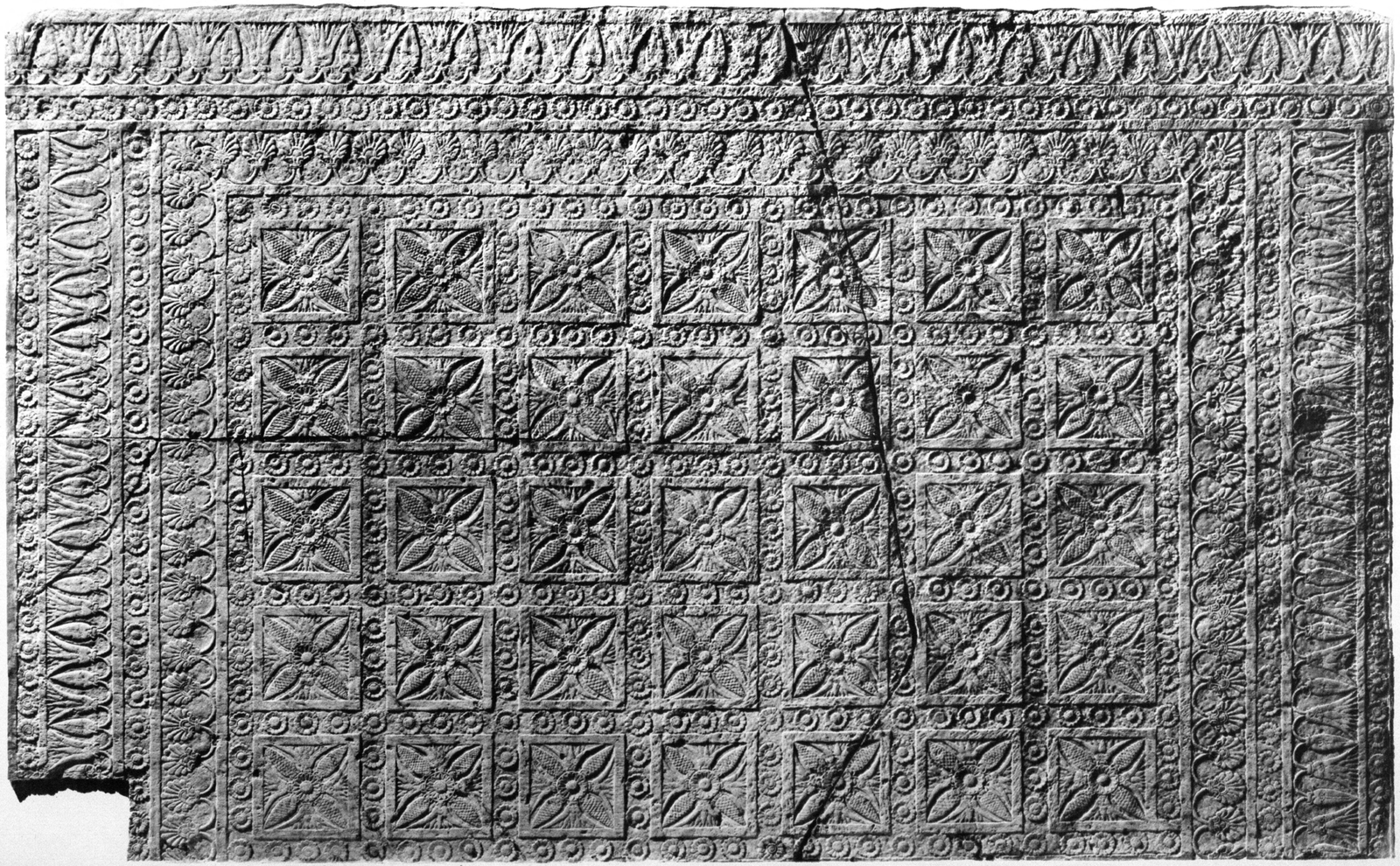
BM 118913



BM 124943



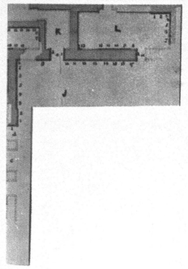
BM 124944



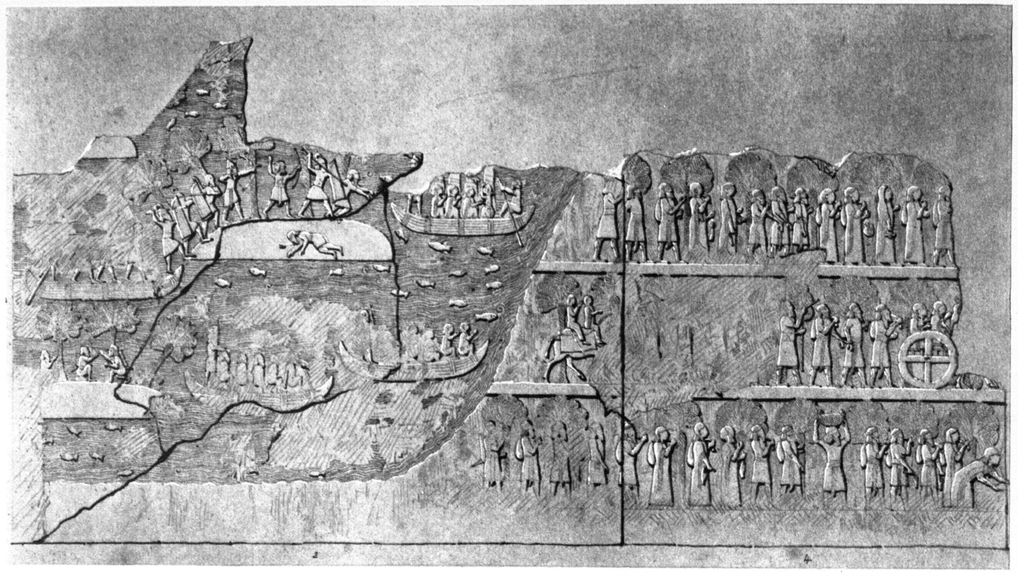
BM 124962

DECORATED FLOOR SLABS FROM THE ENTRANCES

COURTYARD J

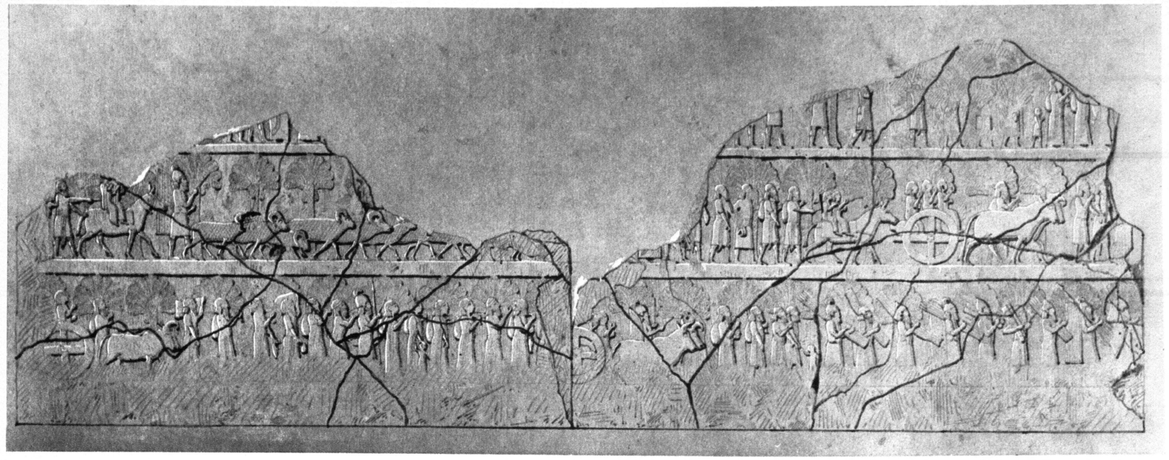


SLABS 3-4



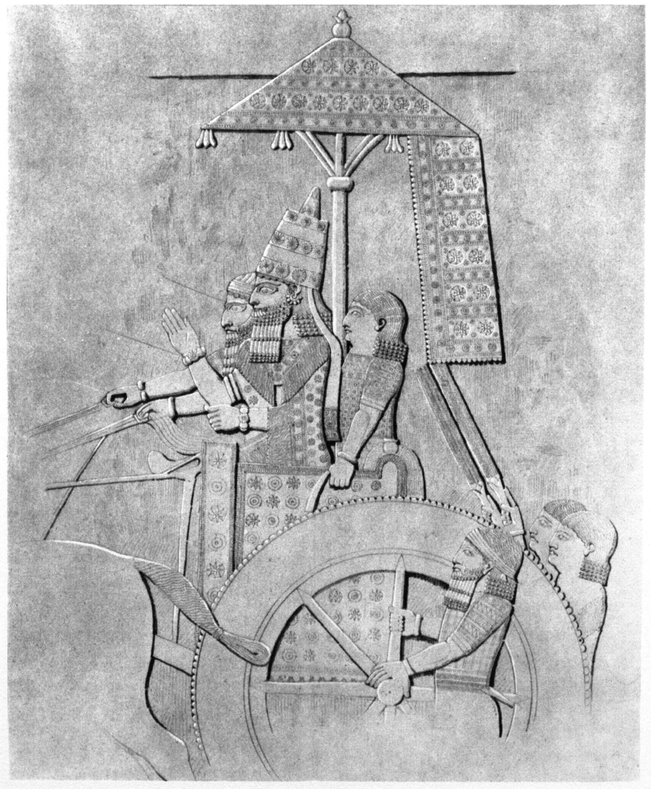
Drawings by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. VII 15 [Original lost]

SLABS 5-6



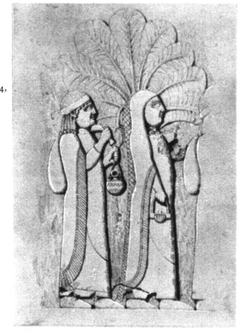
[LOUVRE AO 19911 (part)] Or. Dr. VII 18 [Originals lost]

SLAB 9 (FRAGMENT) ENLARGED DETAIL



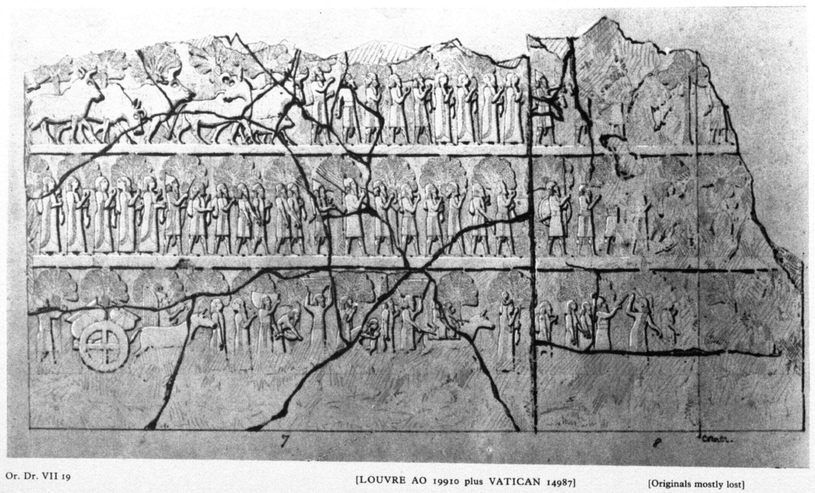
Or. Dr. VII 21 [Original lost]

DETAIL, SLAB 4, TOP ROW



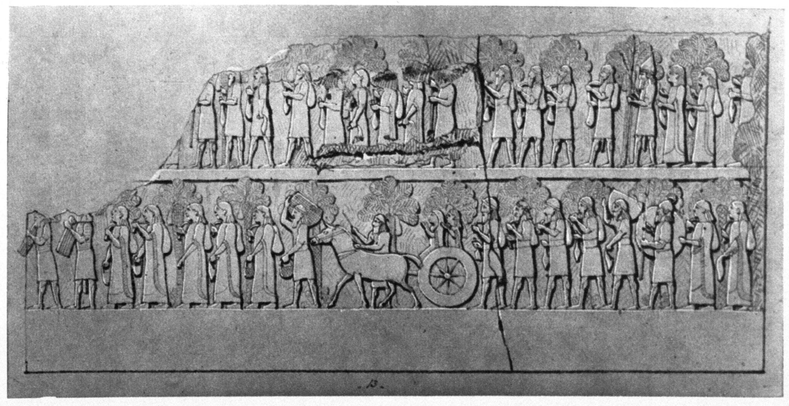
Or. Dr. VII 16

SLABS 7-8



Or. Dr. VII 19 [LOUVRE AO 19910 plus VATICAN 14987] [Originals mostly lost]

SLAB 13



Or. Dr. VII 24 [Original lost]

A BATTLE IN THE MARSHES, AND PRISONERS AND BOOTY LED AWAY TO THE PRESENCE OF THE KING

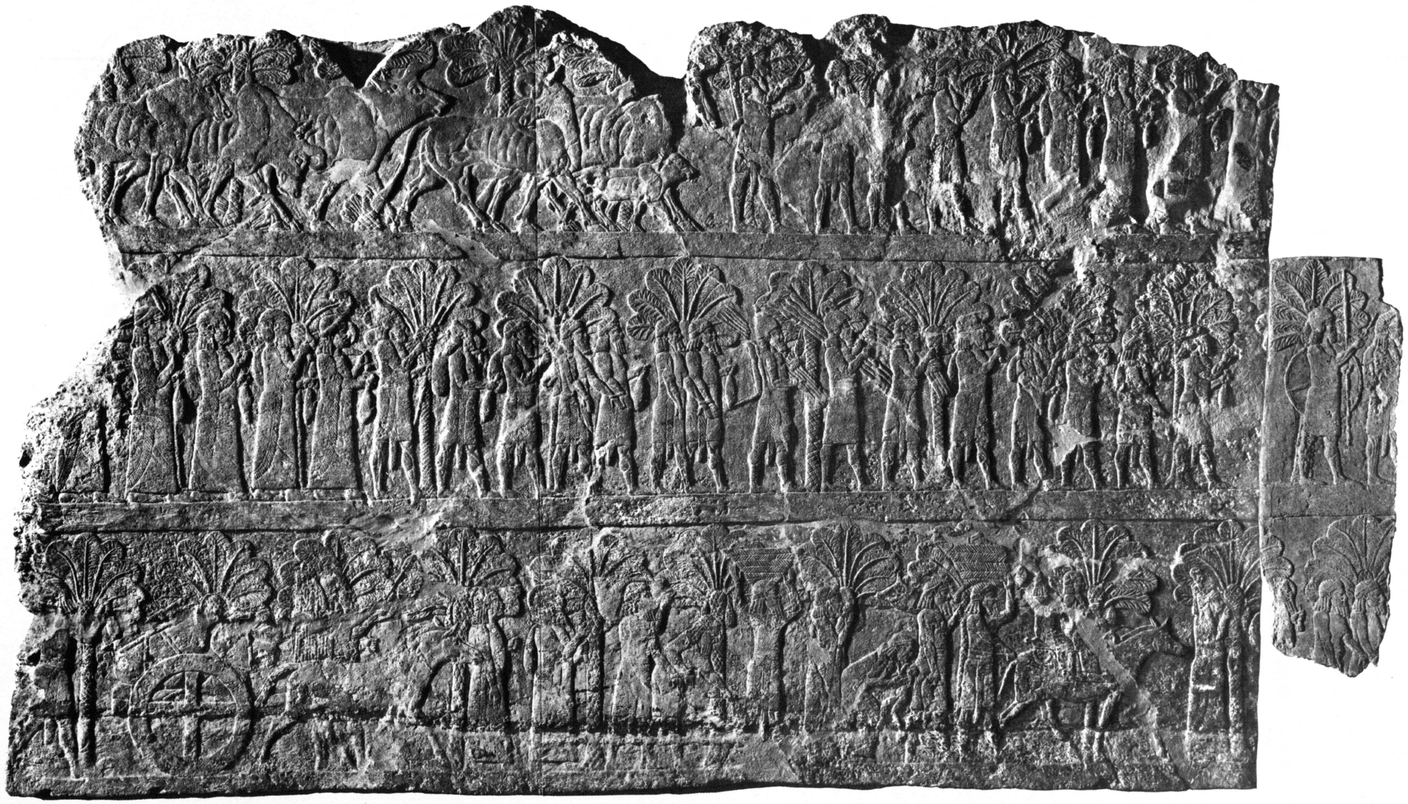
SLAB 4



LOUVRE AO 19911

SLABS 5 and 6
(lost)

SLAB 7



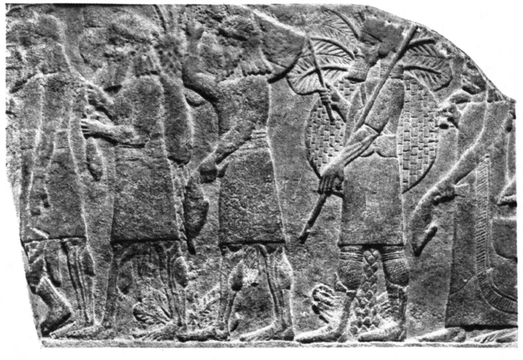
LOUVRE AO 19910

SLAB 8 (fragment)

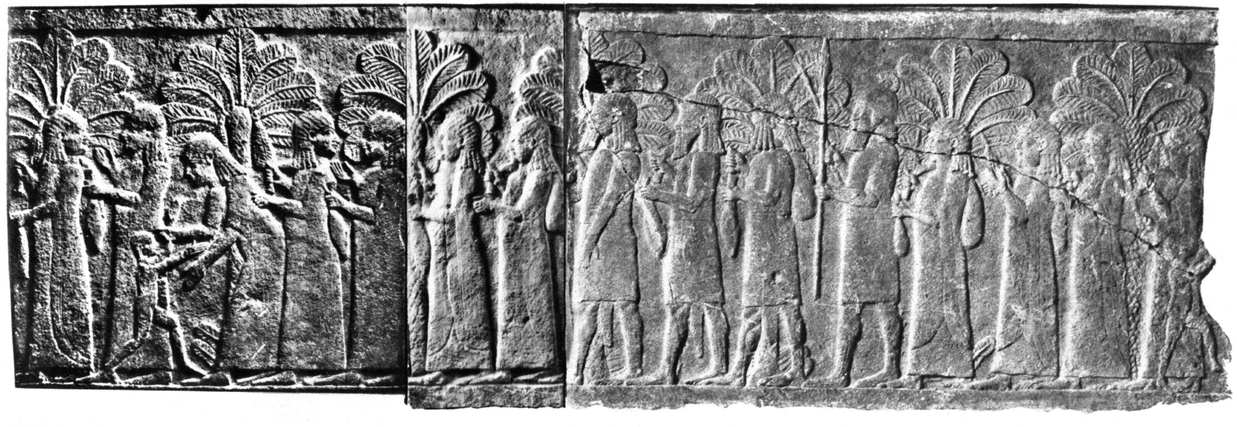
VATICAN 7 (14987)

CHALDAEAN PRISONERS LED AWAY

PROBABLE PARTS OF SLABS 10-12



TOLEDO 2184

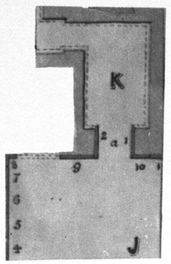


ROME, Barracco 3 WINNETKA DURHAM, Or. Mus. 1

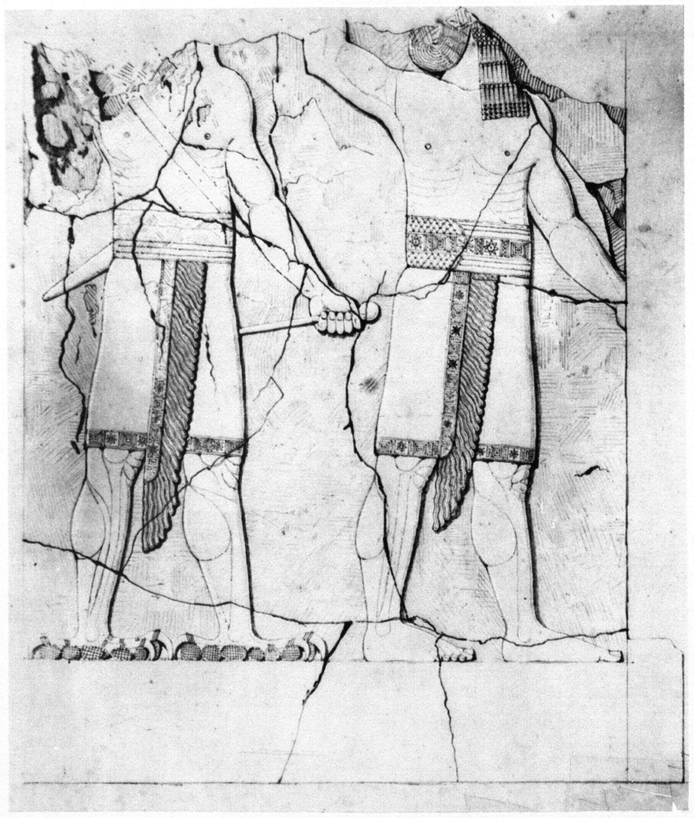


LONDON, Royal Geographical Society 5-6

CHALDAEAN PRISONERS LED AWAY

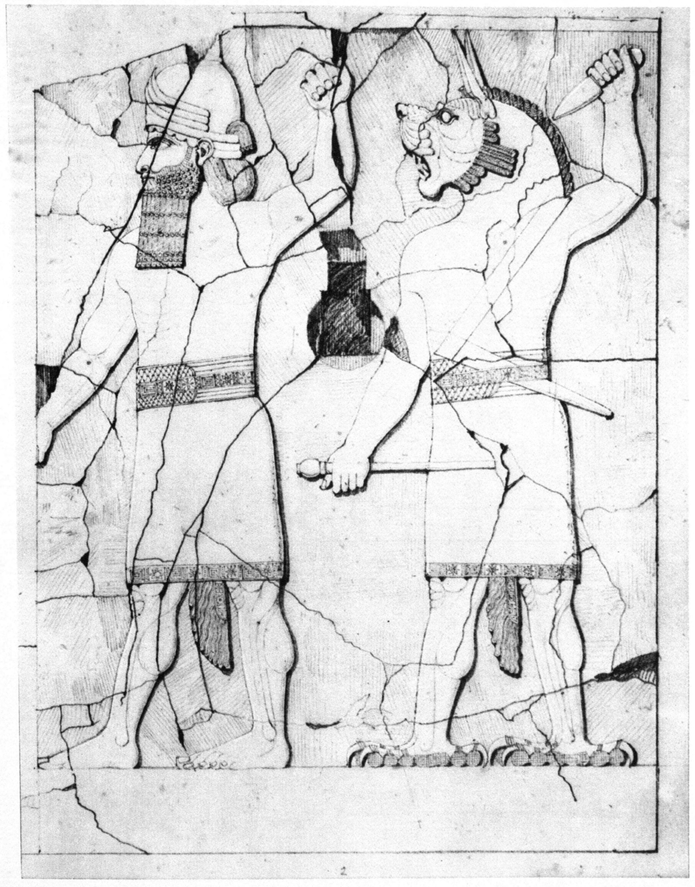


ENTRANCE (a) SLABS 1–2



Drawings by W. Boutcher

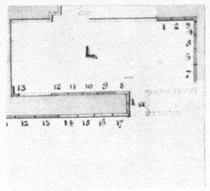
Or. Dr. VII 25



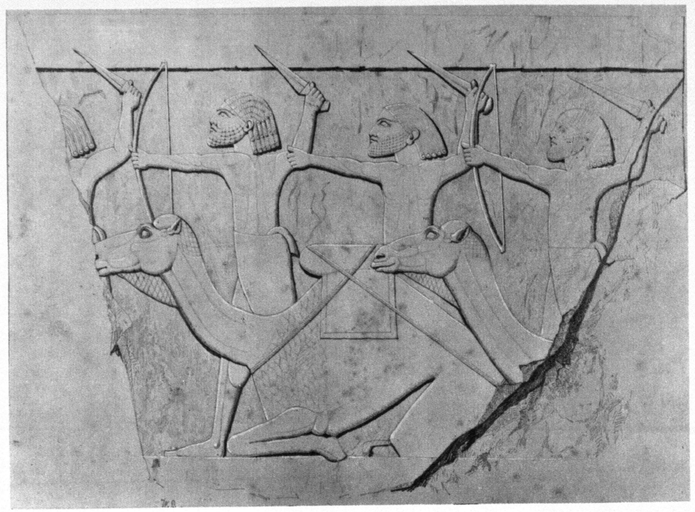
Or. Dr. VII 26

GUARDIANS OF THE DOORWAY

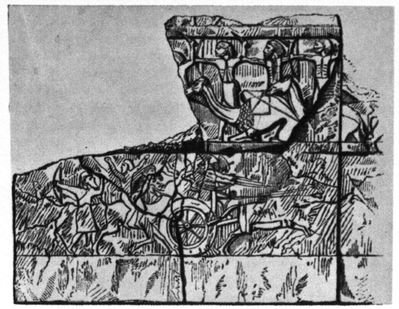
ROOM L



SLAB 1 (detail)

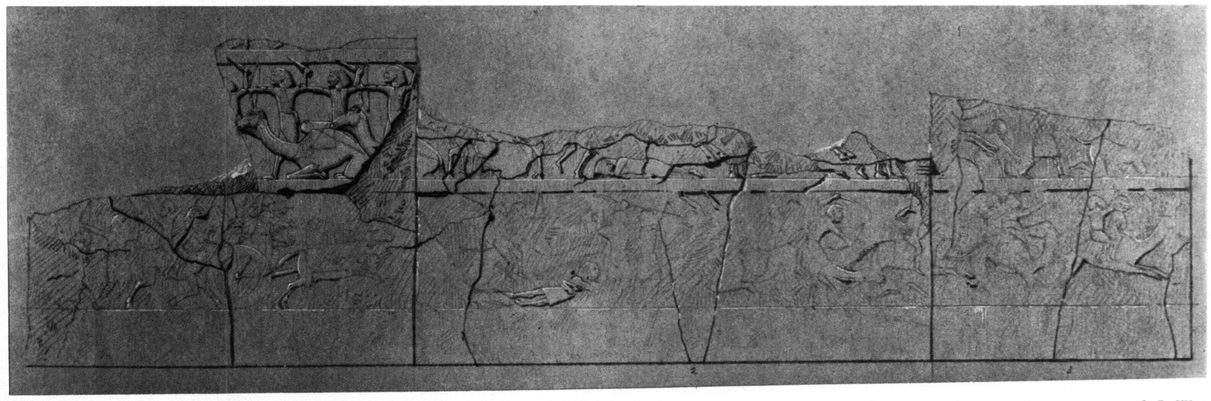


Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. VII 28



Drawings by W. Boutcher
after Assyrian Excavation Fund,2nd Report

SLABS 1-3

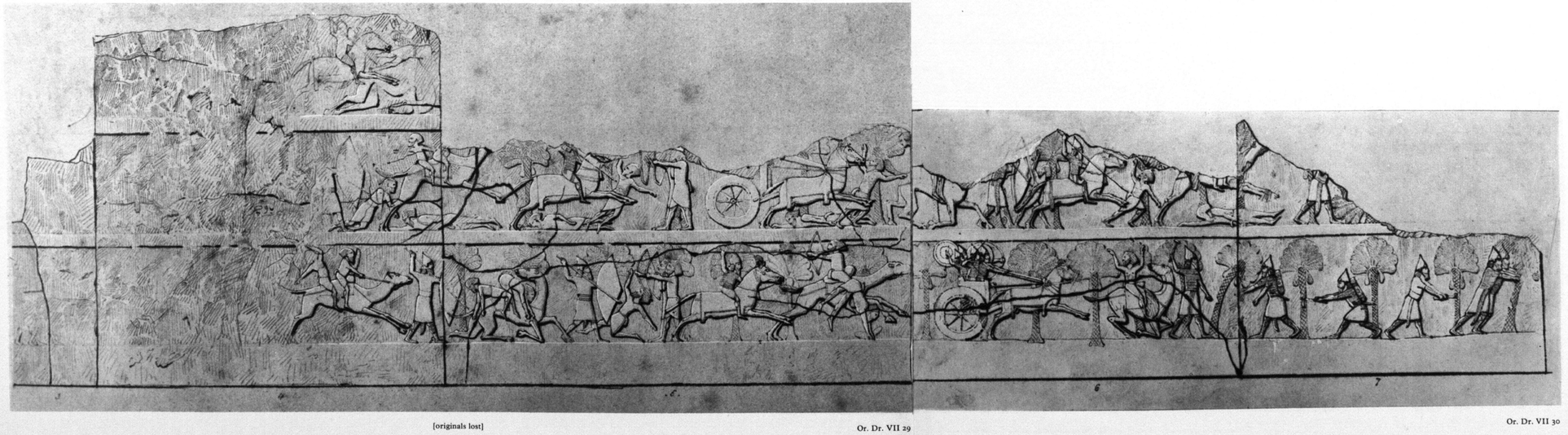


[Corner]

Drawings by W. Boutcher [originals lost] Or. Dr. VII 27

SLABS 3-7

[Corner]



[originals lost] Or. Dr. VII 29 Or. Dr. VII 30

WAR AGAINST ARABS

SLAB 9

SLAB 10 (part)



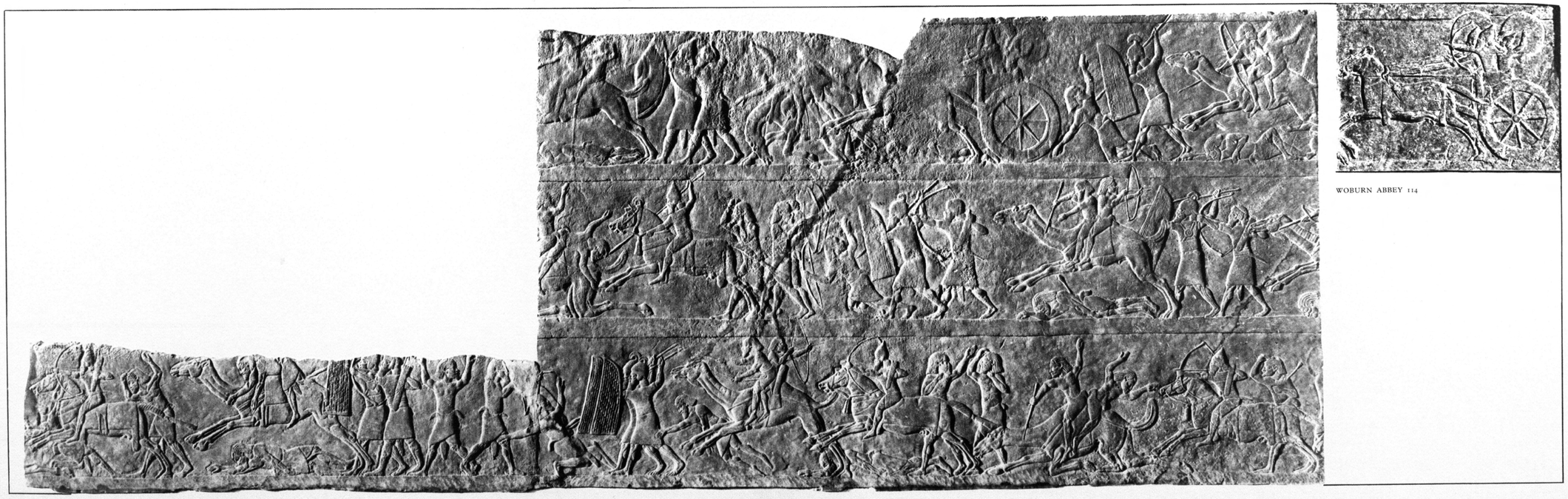
BM 124927

VATICAN 14997

ASSYRIAN SOLDIERS SACKING THE ARAB TENTS

SLABS 11-12

SLAB 13

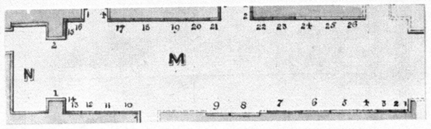


WOBURN ABBEY 114

BM 124925-6

ASSYRIAN CAVALRY, INFANTRY AND CHARIOTS ATTACKING ARABS

ROOM M

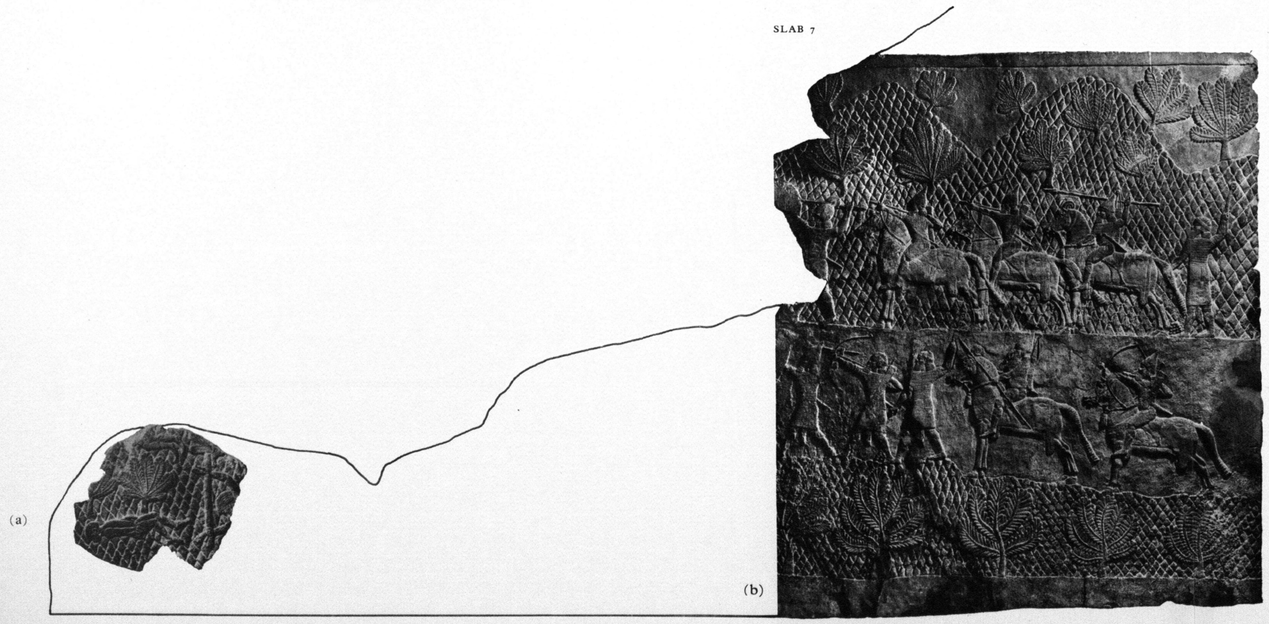


Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. VII 32

ASSAULT OF A CITY IN MOUNTAINS

[LOUVRE AO 19921 and 81 bis]

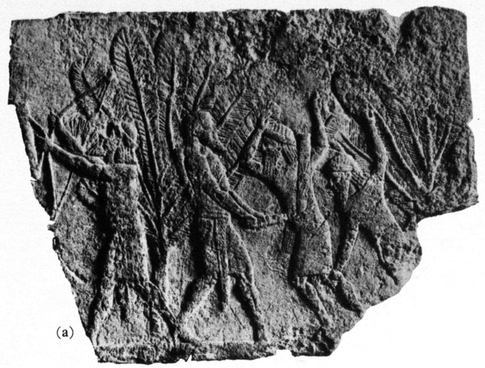
SLAB 7



(a) LOUVRE 81 bis

(b) LOUVRE AO 19921

PARTS OF SLABS 10-11 or 14 (?)



(a) BERLIN VA 210



(b) MARSEILLES, Mus. Borély 1519



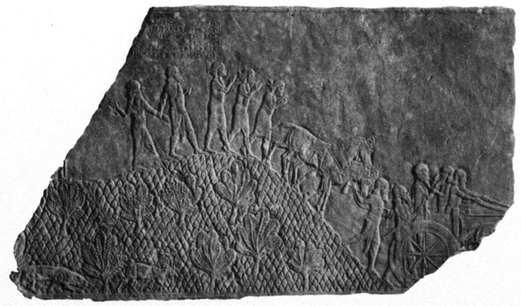
(c) LONDON, Royal Geographical Society 4

SUICIDE OF CHALDAEANS

CAPTURE OF UMMANALDAS

ATTACK ON A CITY

PROBABLE PARTS OF SLABS 1-5 (?)



(a) BM 124793



(b) VENICE 7

SLABS 12-13

DETAIL OF CENTRAL SCENE
SHOWING SURRENDER OF
SHAMASH – SHUM – UKIN
AND UMMANALDAS



BM 124945–6

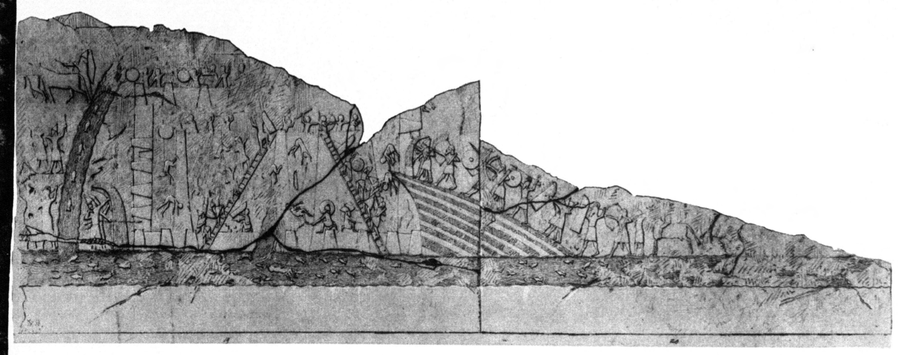
THE KING IN HIS CHARIOT RECEIVING THE SURRENDER OF SHAMASH – SHUM – UKIN

SLABS 17-18



From a photograph (1854) (See BM 124928 below) (originals mostly lost)

SLABS 19-20

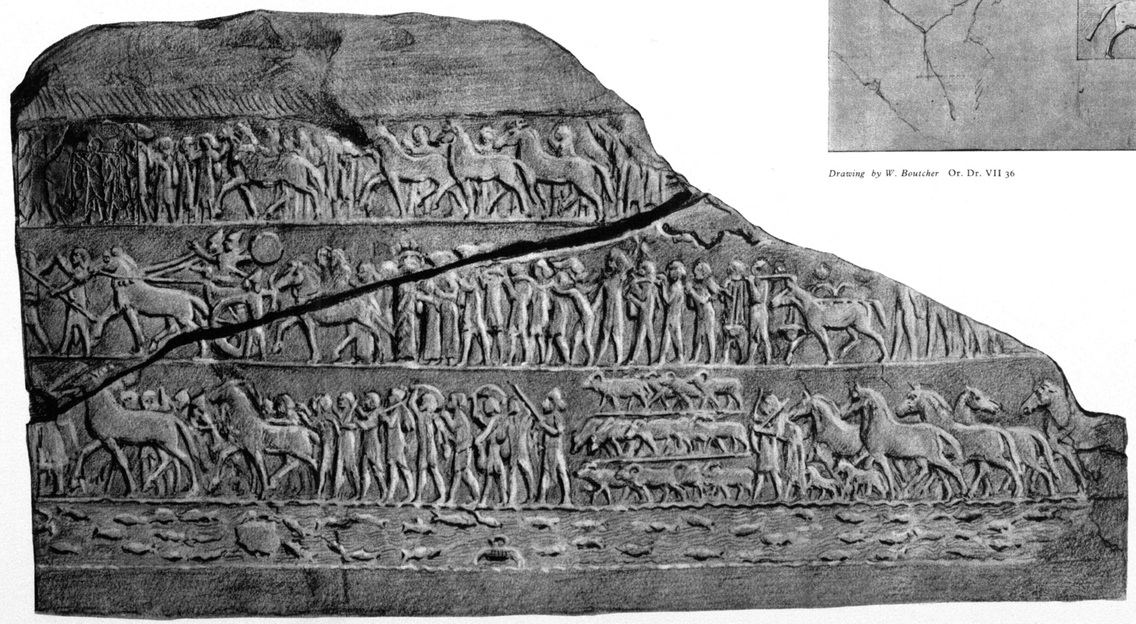


Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. VII 35 (originals lost)

FRAGMENT OF SLAB 18

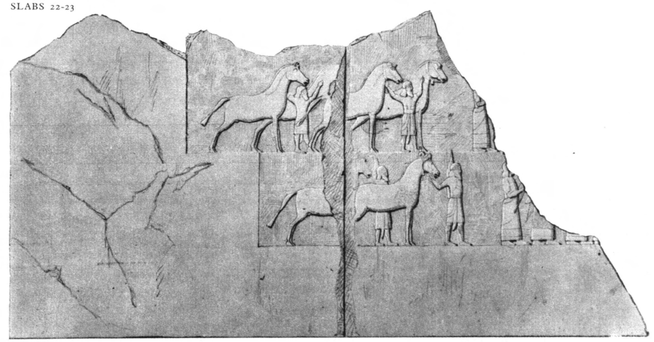


MARSEILLES, Mus. Borély 1518



Drawing of SLAB 18 from above photograph by M. Howard (1965) with superimposed fragment

SLABS 22-23



Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. VII 36

SLAB 17



BM 124928

THE SACK OF AN EGYPTIAN CITY

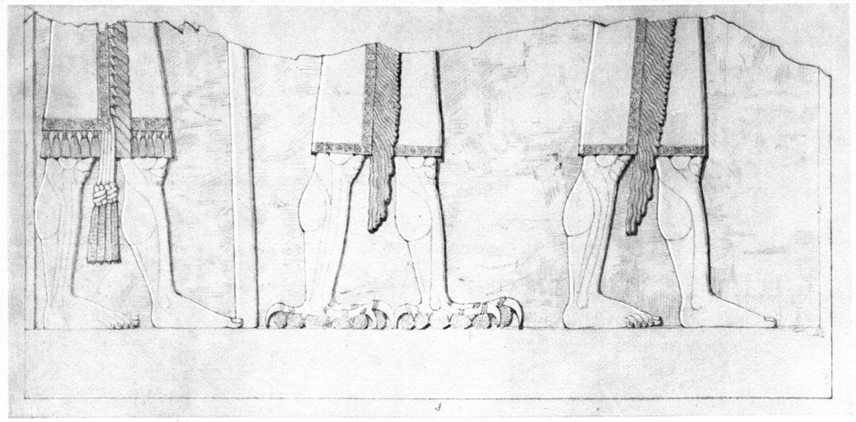
SLAB 23



VATICAN 14988

THE KING'S HORSES

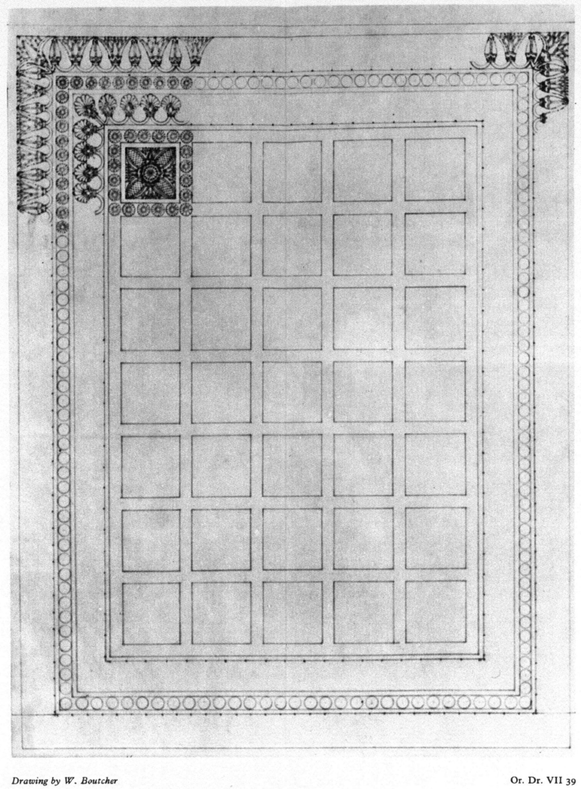
ENTRANCE (b) SLAB 3



Drawing by W. Boutcher

Or. Dr. VII 38

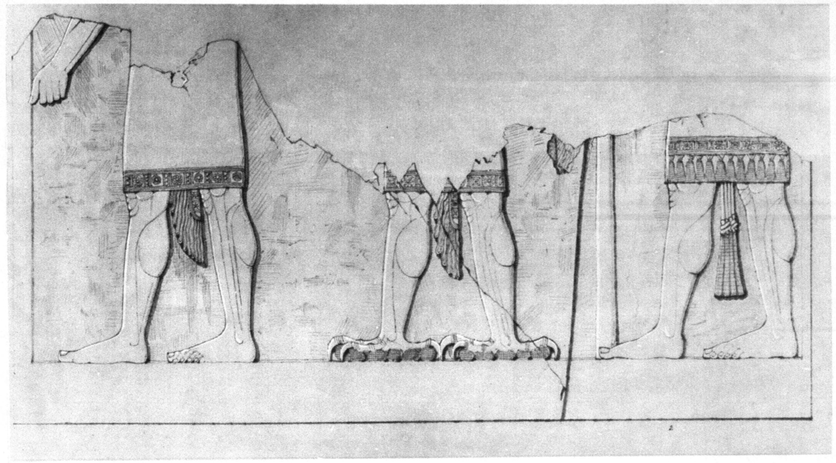
DOORWAY SLAB, ENTRANCE (b)



Drawing by W. Boutcher

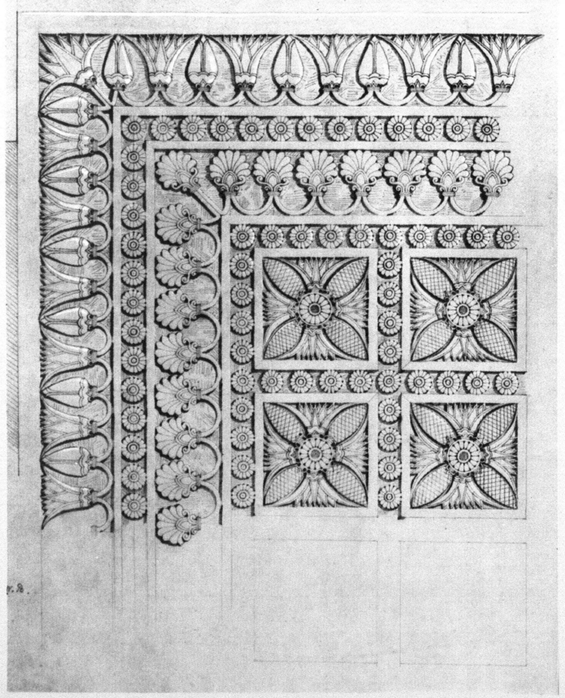
Or. Dr. VII 39

ENTRANCE (b) SLABS 1-2



Drawing by W. Boutcher

Or. Dr. VII 37



Drawing by W. Boutcher

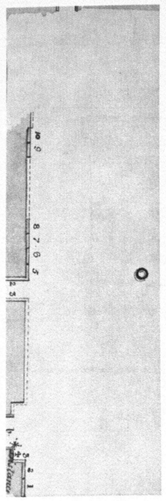
Or. Dr. VII 40

PART OF ENTRANCE (b) SLAB 1 (?)



LYONS, Mus. de l'oeuvre pontificale

DECORATION OF THE ENTRANCE TO THE THRONE ROOM



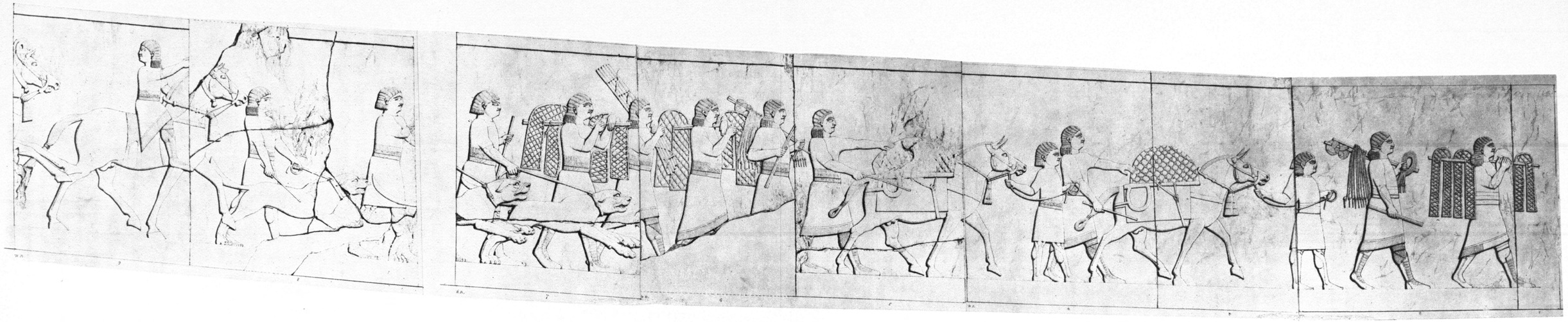
ENTRANCE (b) SLAB 4



BM 124918

PART OF THE SERIES OF GUARDIAN FIGURES "THE DIVINE SEVEN, THE GREAT GODS"

South East Wall SLABS 9-1



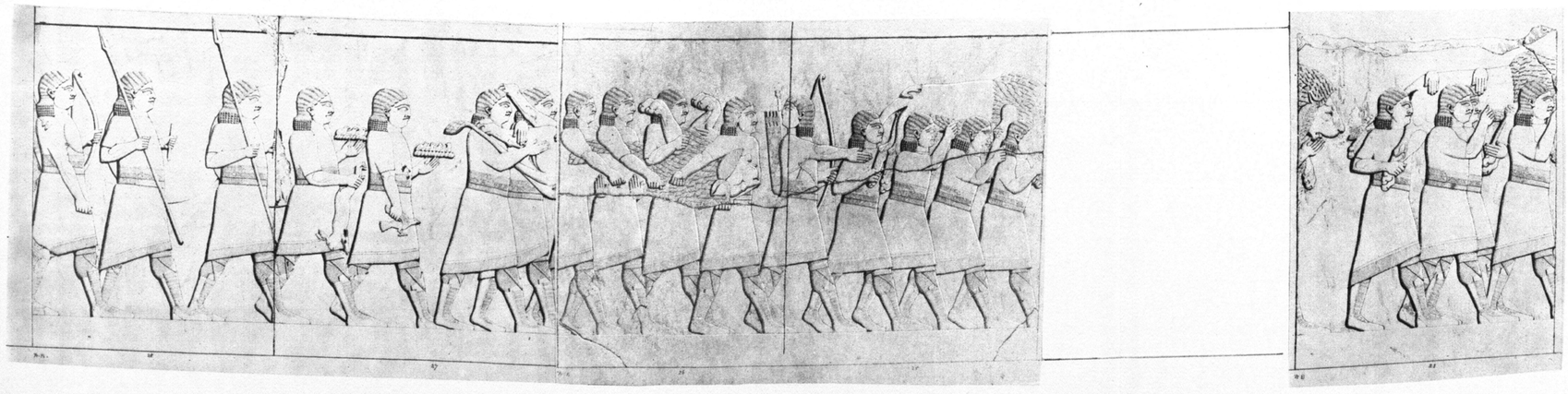
Drawings by W Boutcher Or. Dr. VI 56 [Louvre AO 19902] (original lost) Or. Dr. VI 55 [(part) BM 124893] Or. Dr. VI 52 [BM 124894-5] Or. Dr. VI 53 [BM 124896-7] Or. Dr. VI 54 [BM 124898-9]

JOURNEY TO THE HUNTING FIELD

North West Wall SLABS 28-25

SLAB 24 (lost)

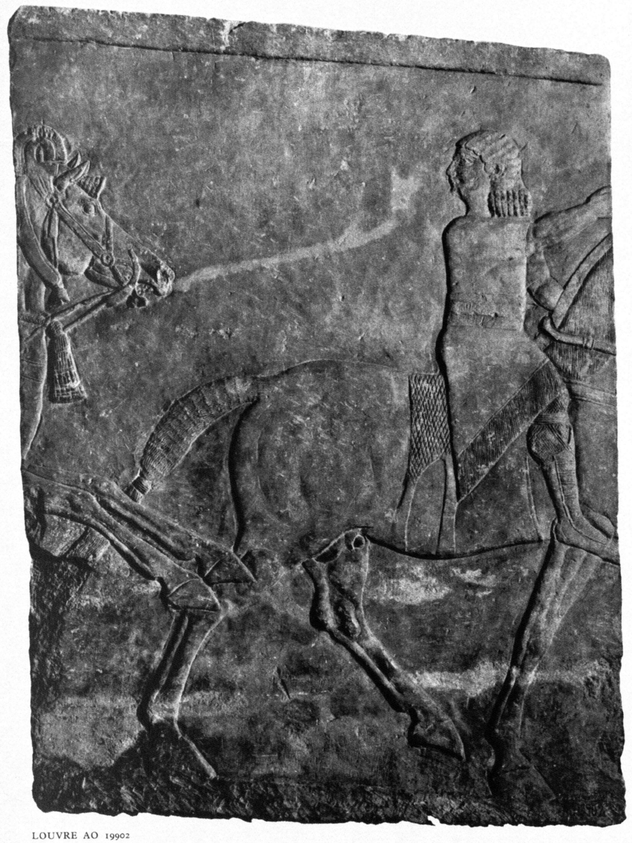
SLAB 23



Or. Dr. VI 50 [BM 124888-9] Or. Dr. V 2 [BM 124890-1] Or. Dr. VI 51 [BM 124892]

THE RETURN FROM THE HUNT

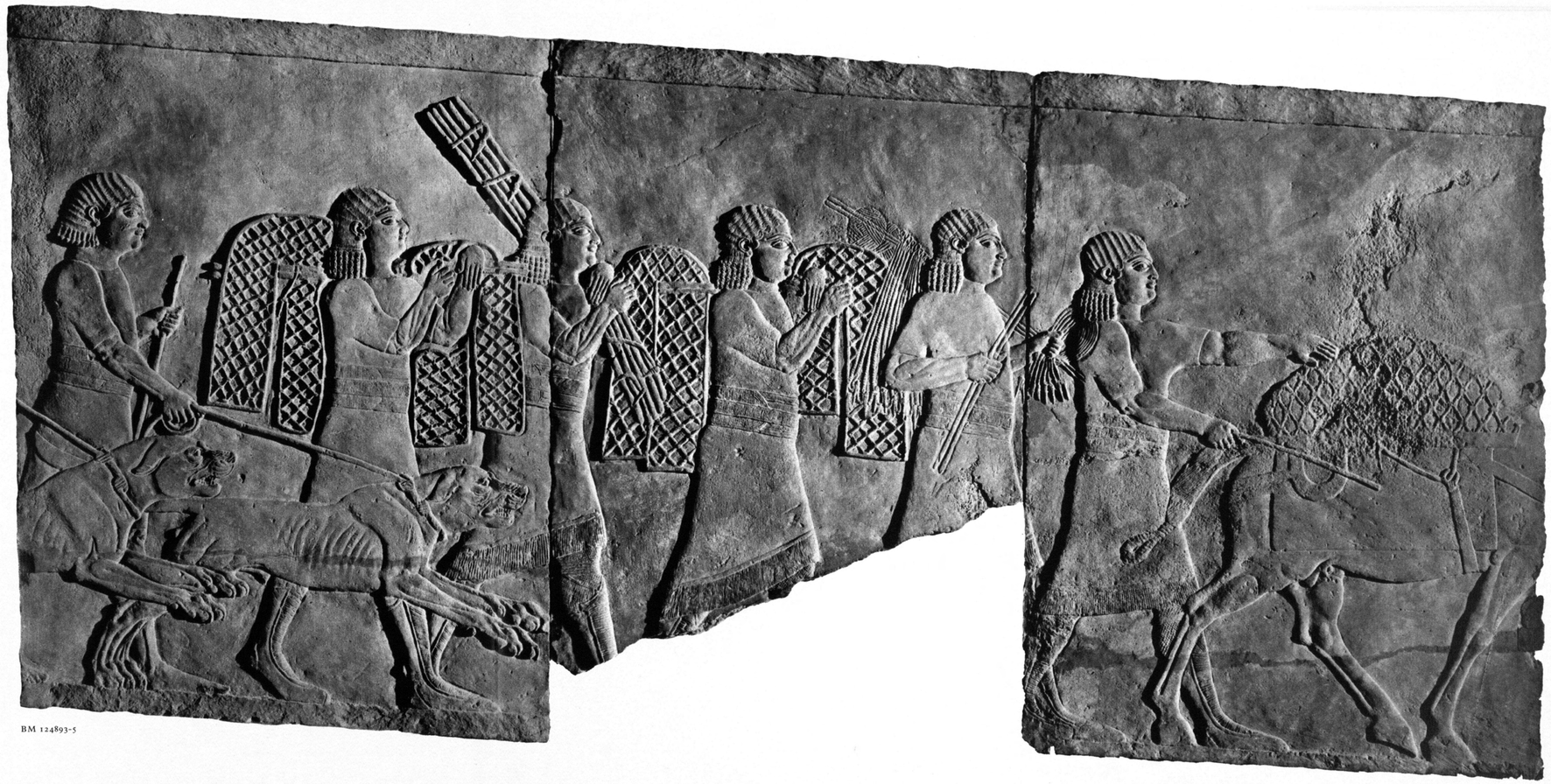
SLAB 9



LOUVRE AO 19902

[SLAB 8 lost]

SLABS 7-5



BM 124893-5

HUNTSMEN AND ATTENDANTS WITH HOUNDS AND NETS GOING TO THE HUNT

SLABS 4–1



BM 124896–9

ATTENDANTS WITH MULES BRINGING NETS AND STAKES

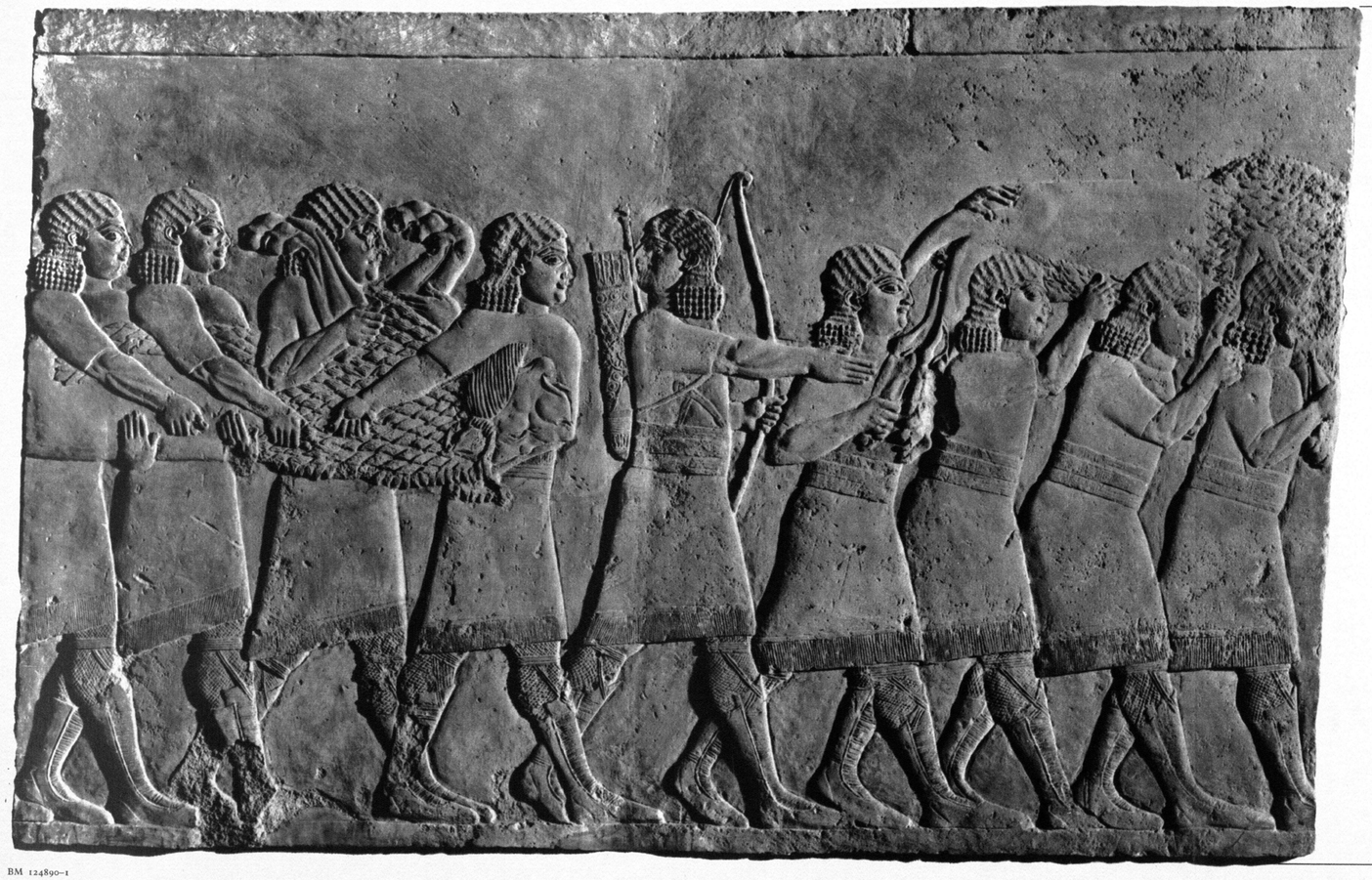
SLABS 28–27



BM 124888–9

GUARDS AND ATTENDANTS RETURNING FROM THE CHASE

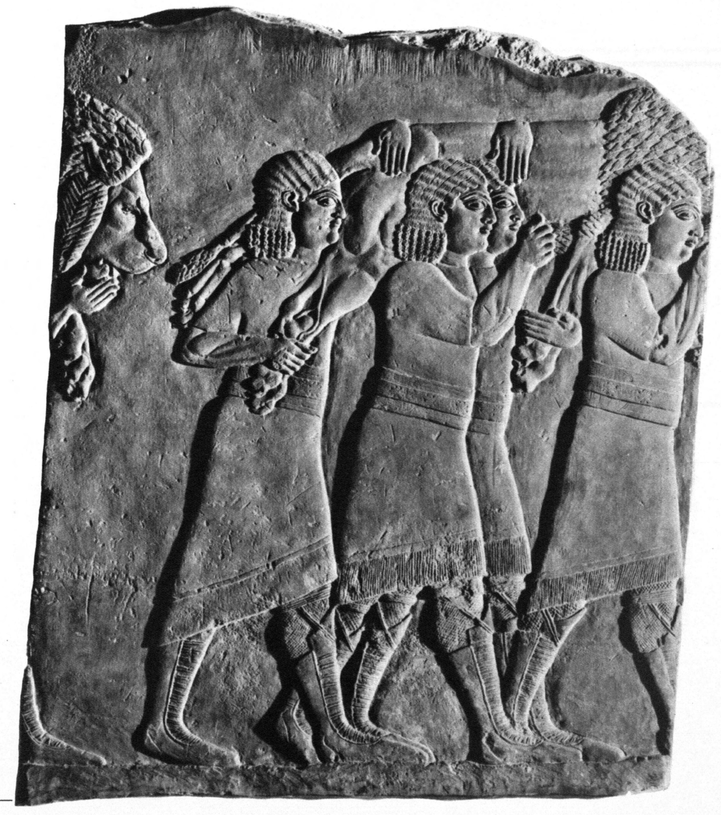
SLABS 26–25.



BM 124890–1

(SLAB 24 lost)

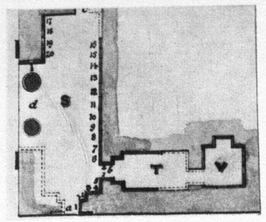
SLAB 23.



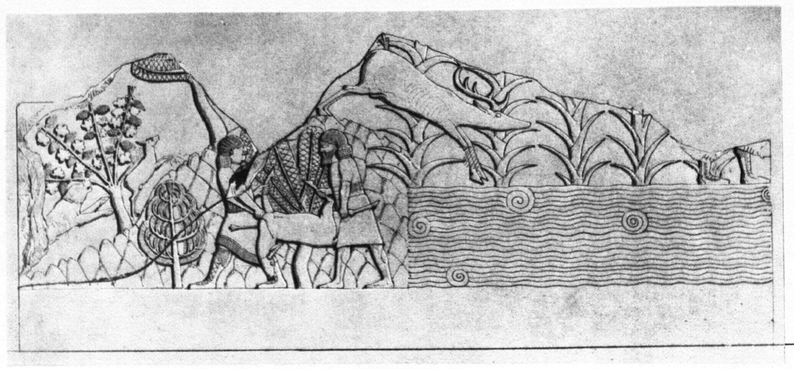
BM 124892

ATTENDANTS CARRYING HOME DEAD LIONS

ROOM S (The Western Portal)



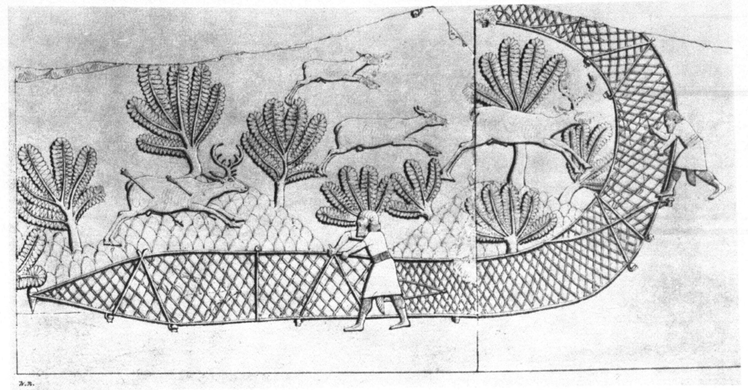
SLAB 21



Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. V 19 (original lost)

ENTRANCE (d) SLAB 1
(See Plate XLV)

SLABS 18–17



Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. V 18 [BM 124871: see below]

SLAB 22 (?)



(a)

Drawings by M. Howard [BM 124275]



BM 124275



(b)

[BM 135424]



BM 135424

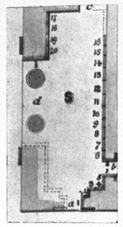


ROME, Barracco 10

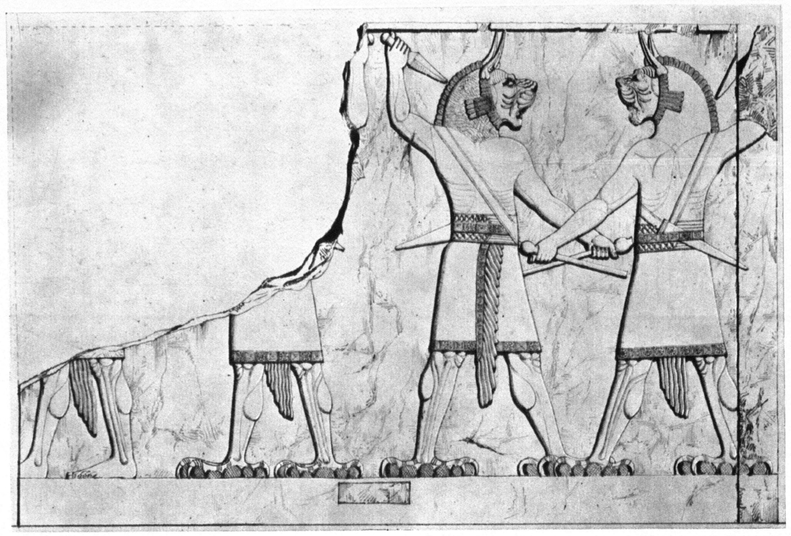


BM 124871

HUNTING STAGS WITH NETS



ENTRANCE (d) SLAB 1



Drawing by W. Boutcher [right half – BM 118911] Or. Dr. V47



BM 118911

FRAGMENT OF ENTRANCE (d) SLAB 2 (?)



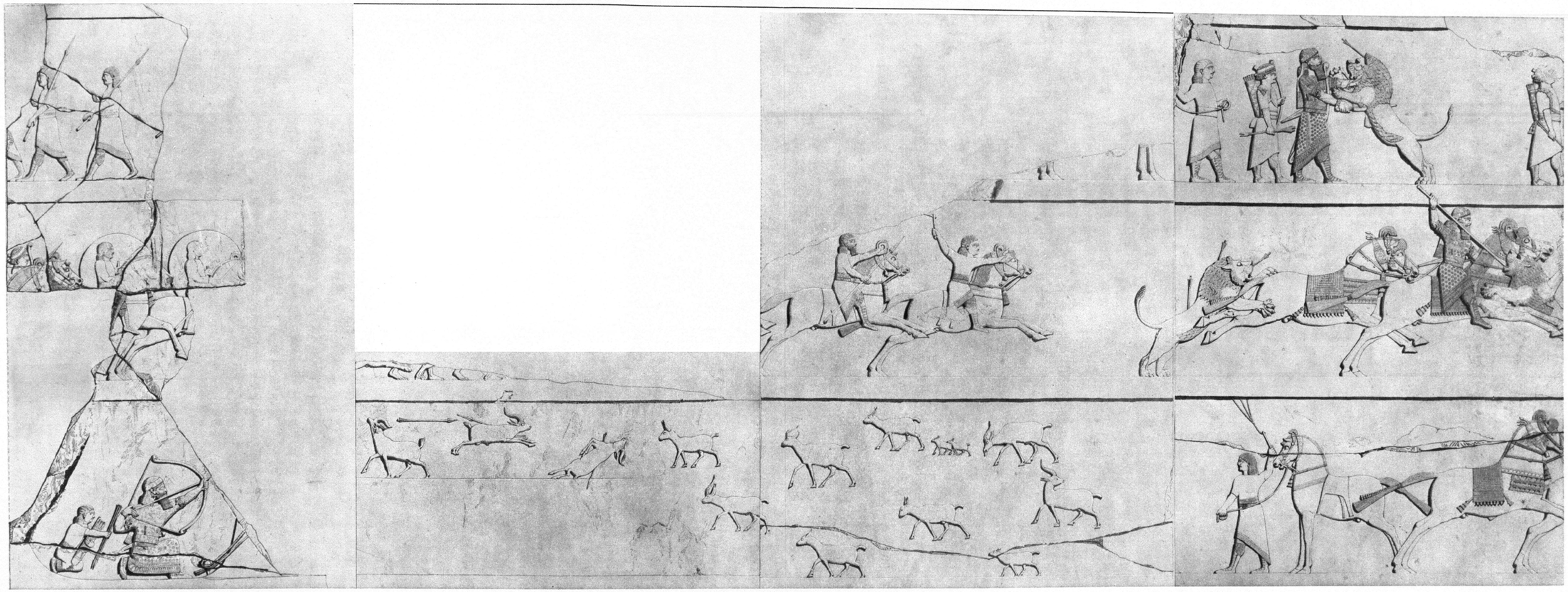
PARIS, BOKANOWSKI COLL.

MAGICAL FIGURES GUARDING THE DOORWAY



MODELS OF DOGS FROM A MAGICAL RITUAL (found under Slab 1)

SLABS 16–13



Drawings by W. Boutcher

(BM 124872) Or. Dr. V 23

(BM 124873) Or. Dr. V 12

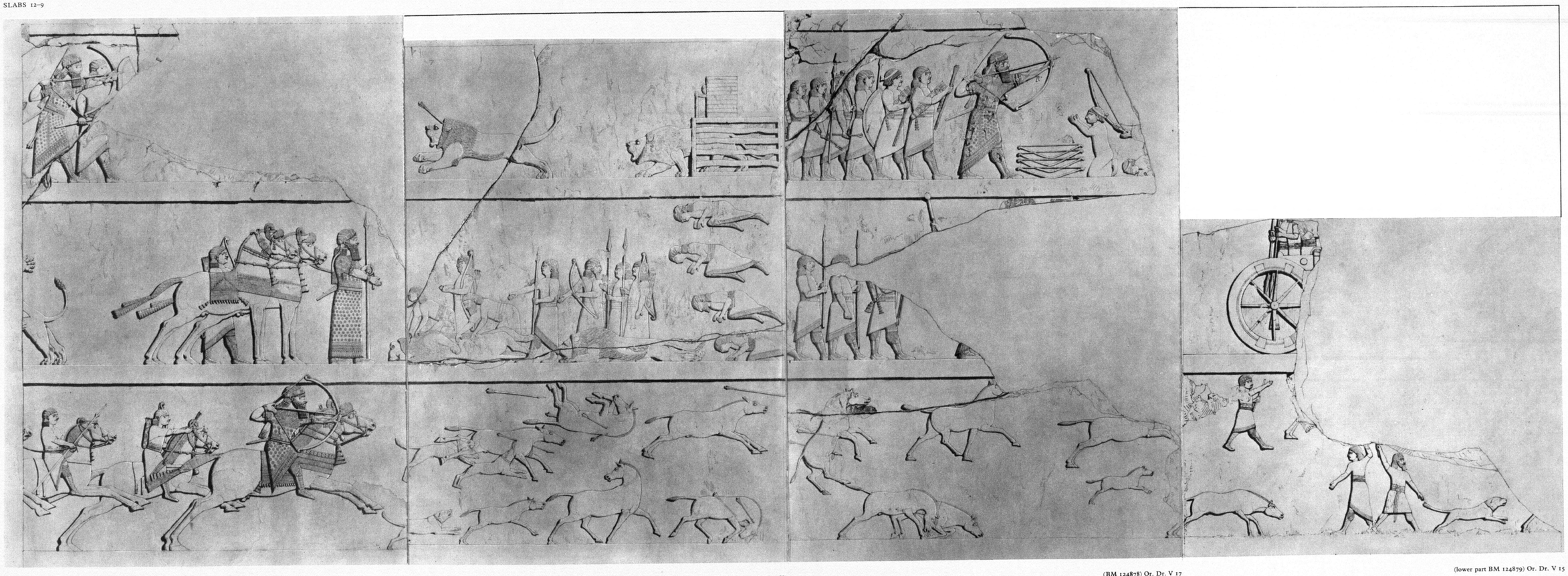
(BM 124874) Or. Dr. V 11

(BM 124875) Or. Dr. V 10

(continued on Plate XLVII)

THE KING FIGHTING WITH LIONS ON FOOT AND ON HORSE
THE KING HUNTING GAZELLE FROM A HIDING PIT

SLABS 12–9



Drawing by W. Boutcher

(BM 124876) Or. Dr. V 7

(BM 124877) Or. Dr. V 5

(BM 124878) Or. Dr. V 17

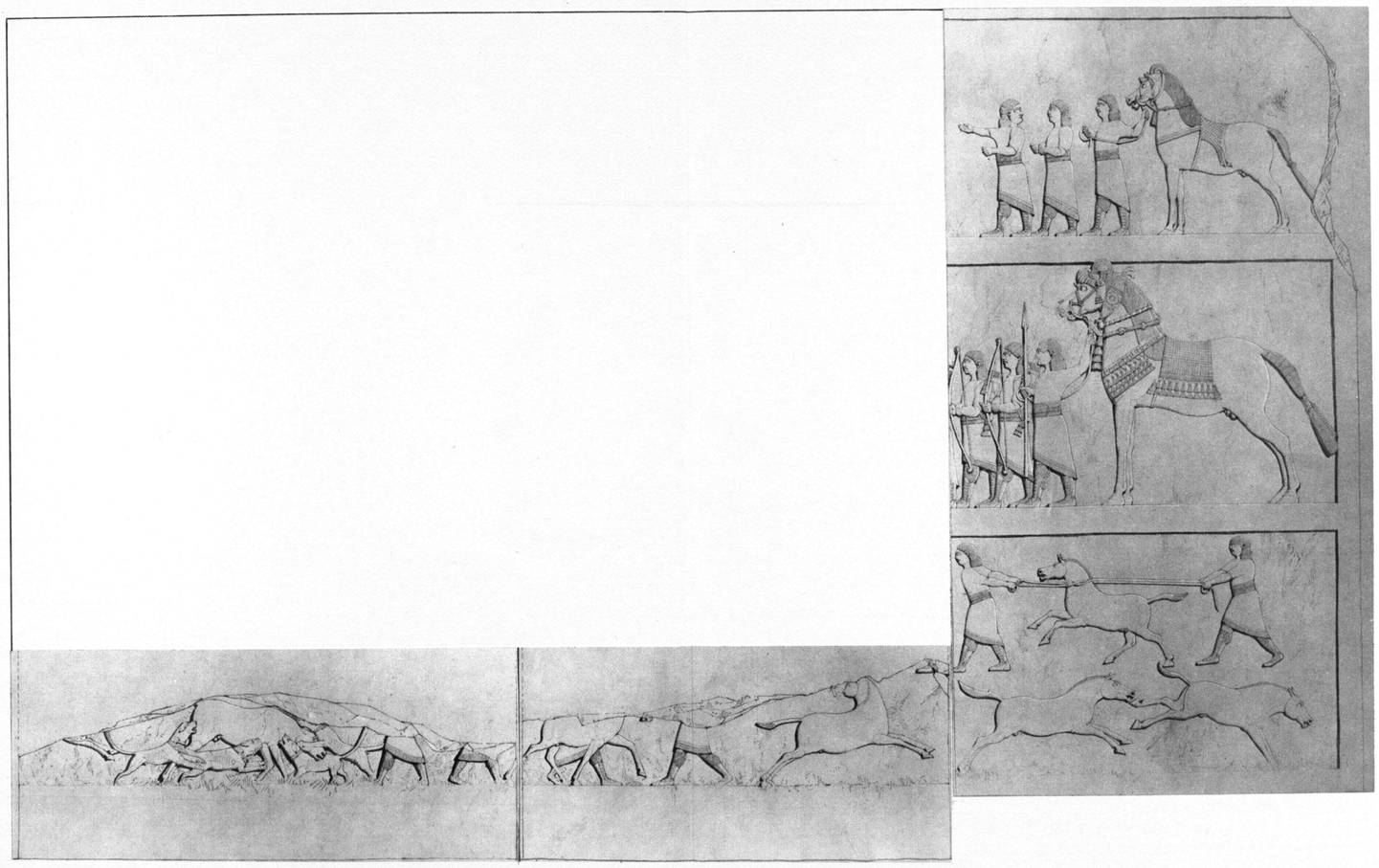
(lower part BM 124879) Or. Dr. V 15

(continued from plate XLVI)

(continued on Plate XLVIII)

THE KING SHOOTING AT LIONS LIBERATED FROM A CAGE; THE KING TESTS HIS BOWS AND ARROWS
THE KING INSPECTS THE SLAIN LIONS
THE KING HUNTS ONAGERS

SLABS 8–6



Drawing by W. Boutcher

(BM 124880) Or. Dr. V 14

(BM 124881) Or. Dr. V 13

(BM 124882) Or. Dr. V 16

(continued from plate XLVII)

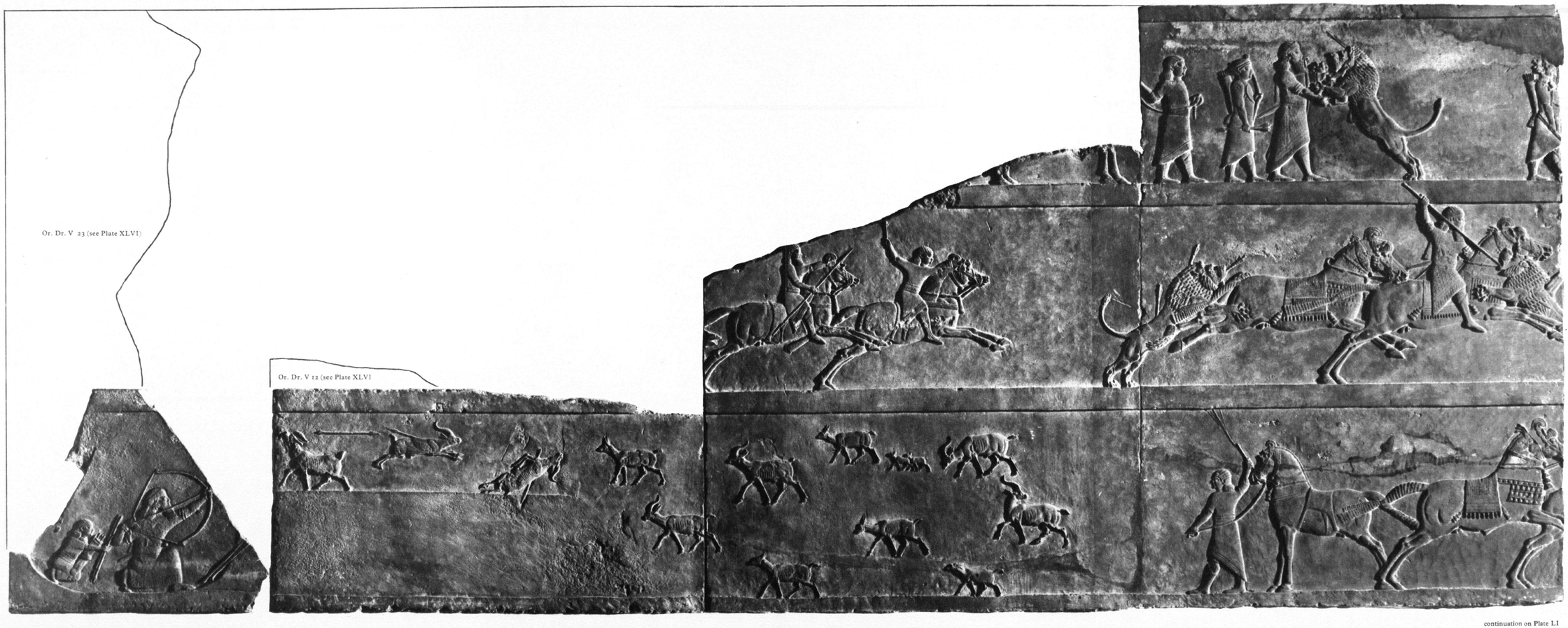
THE KING'S ATTENDANTS
THE KING'S HORSE
HUNTING AND LASSOOING ONAGERS

SLAB 16

SLABS 15-13

Or. Dr. V 23 (see Plate XLVI)

Or. Dr. V 12 (see Plate XLVI



BM 124872

BM 124873–5

continuation on Plate LI

THE KING, UNCROWNED, SHOOTING AT GAZELLE FROM A PIT

THE KING'S HUNTSMEN

SLAB 16

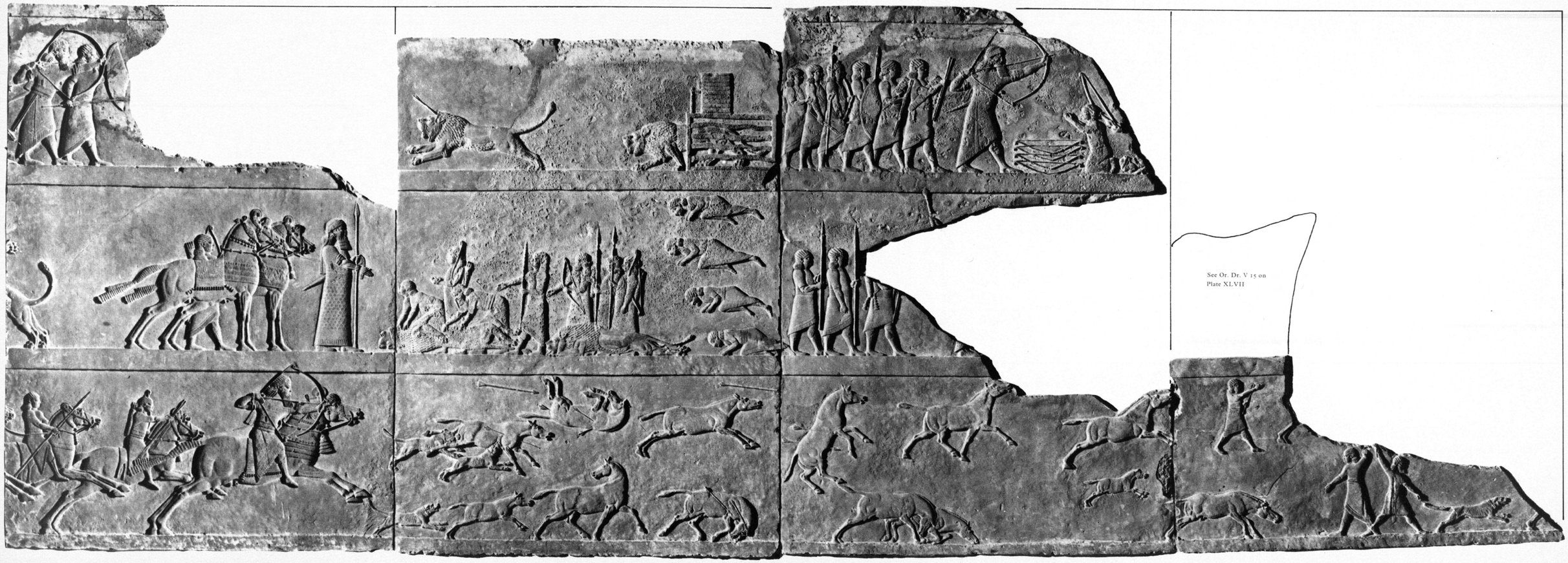


SLABS 14-13



ENLARGED VIEW OF SLABS 16, 14-13 (See Plate XLIX)

SLABS 12–9



See Or. Dr. V 15 on Plate XLVII

BM 124876-9

continuation on Plate LIII

THE KING, UNCROWNED, SHOOTING AT LIONS RELEASED; THE KING TESTING HIS BOWS AND ARROWS
THE KING, UNCROWNED, VIEWING THE CARCASSES
THE KING, UNCROWNED, SHOOTING AT WILD ONAGERS

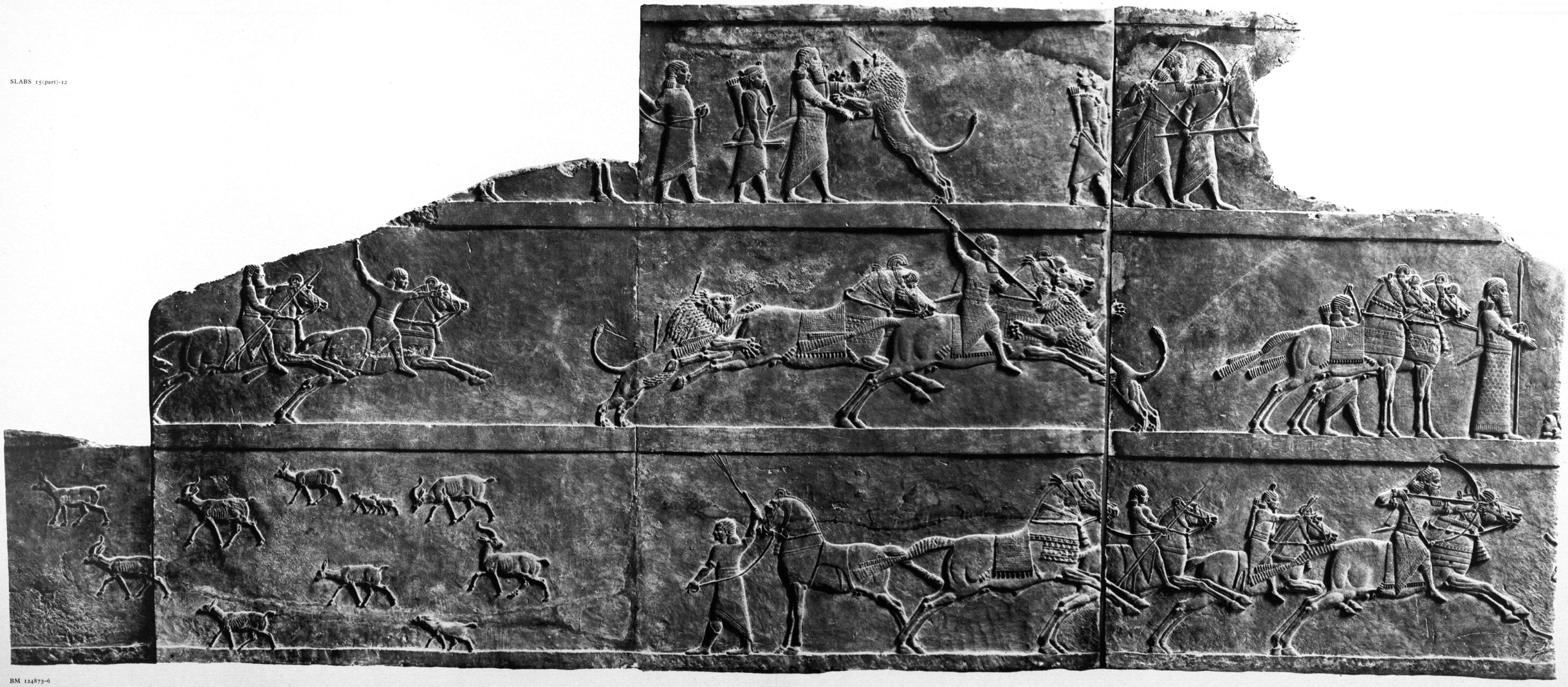
SLABS 16-15 (part)





BM 124872-3

SLABS 15(part)-12



BM 124873-6

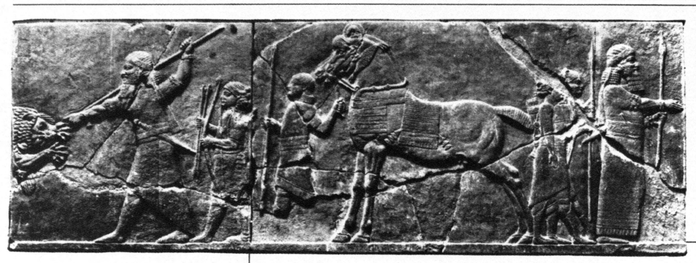
ENLARGED VIEWS OF SLABS 16-12 (See Plates XLIX & LI)

SLAB 9(?)

SLAB 8(?)

SLAB 7

SLAB 6



BERLIN, VA 963 and 960



SLAB 8



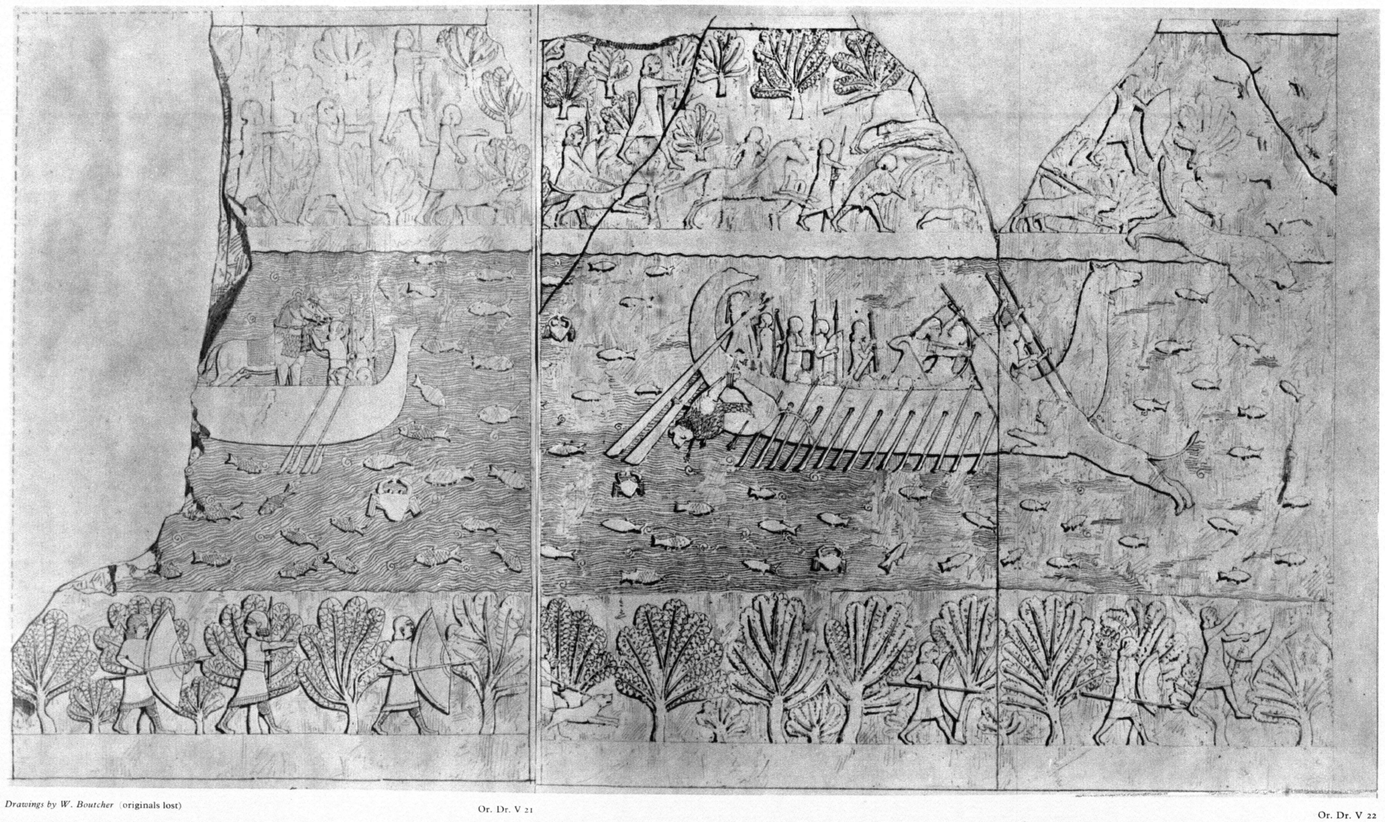
Continuation of Plate LI

BM 124880–2

THE KING, UNCROWNED, FIGHTING LIONS

THE HUNT OF ONAGERS

SLABS 5–3



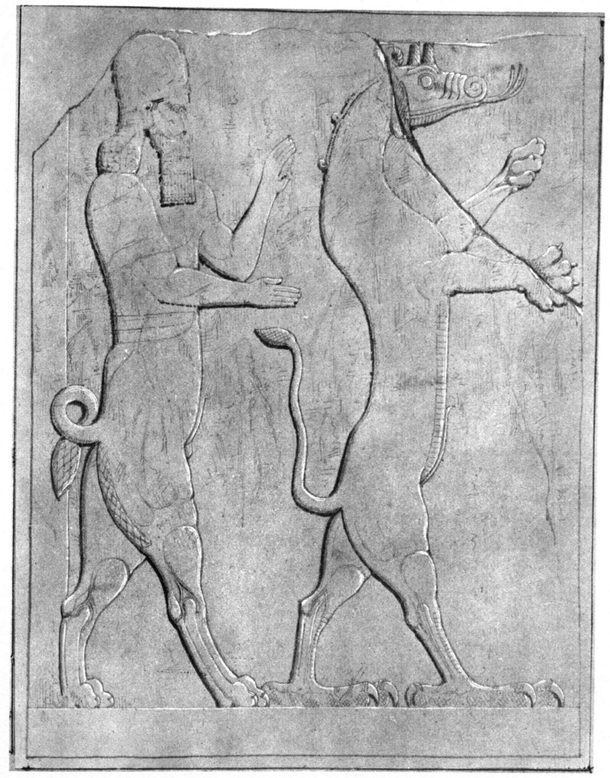
Drawings by W. Boutcher (originals lost)

Or. Dr. V 21

Or. Dr. V 22

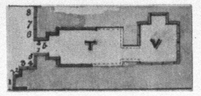
THE KING HUNTING LIONS FROM A PHOENICIAN GALLEY IN THE TIGRIS (?)

ENTRANCE (a)

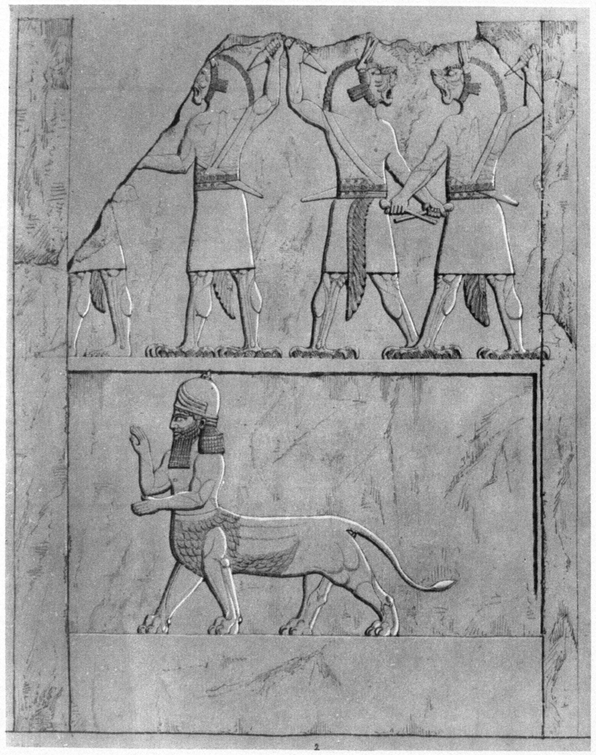


Or. Dr. V 45

GUARDIAN FIGURES: GOD AND MUŠHUŠŠU

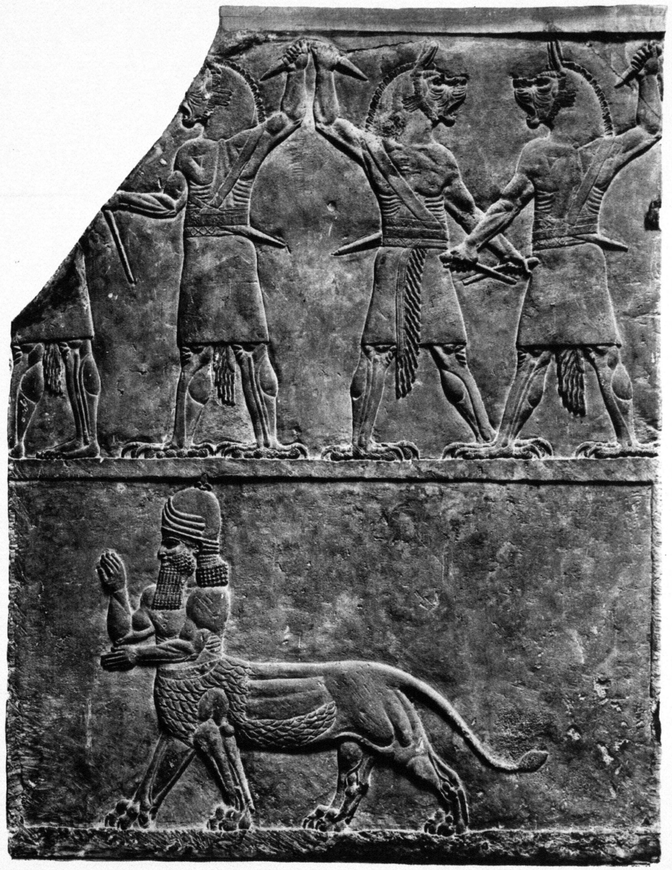


ENTRANCE (b) SLAB 2



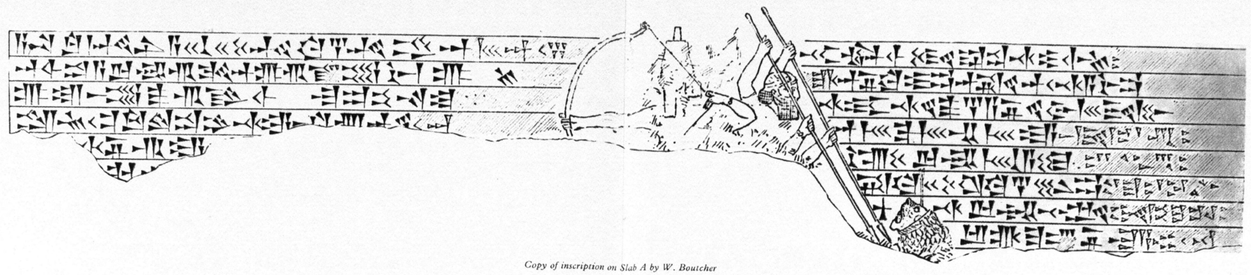
Drawing by W. Boutcher

Or Dr. V 48



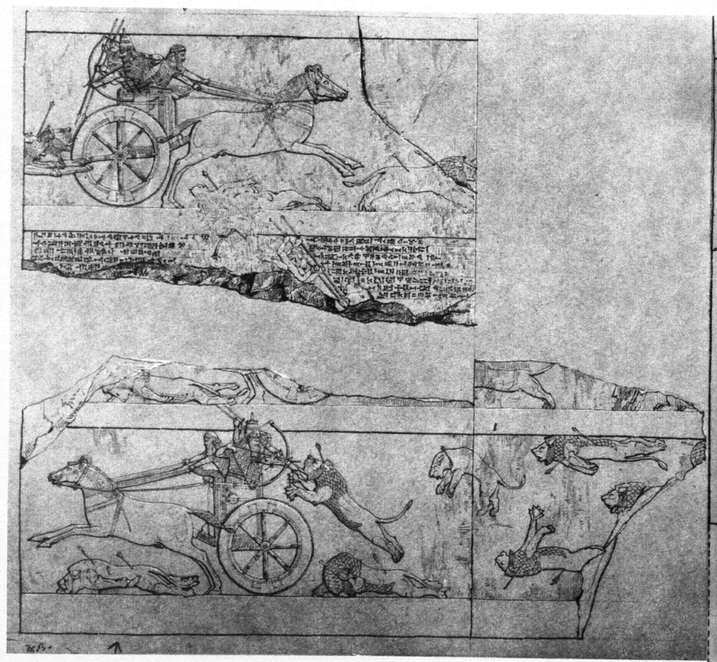
BM 118912

GUARDIAN FIGURES



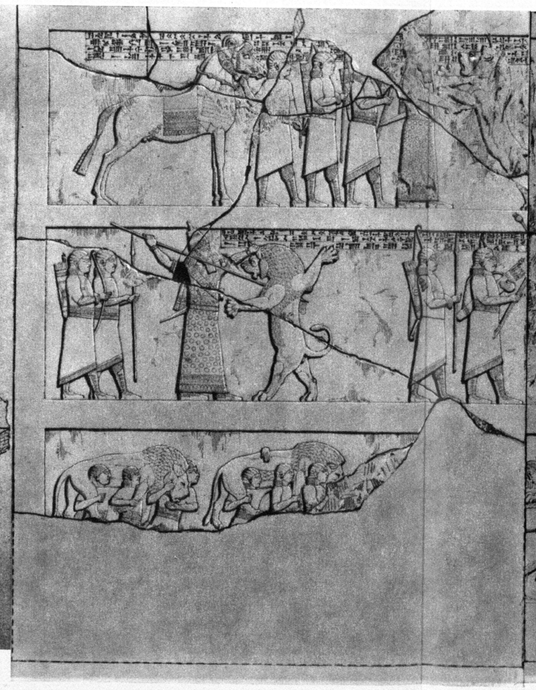
Copy of inscription on Slab A by W. Boutcher

SLAB A-E

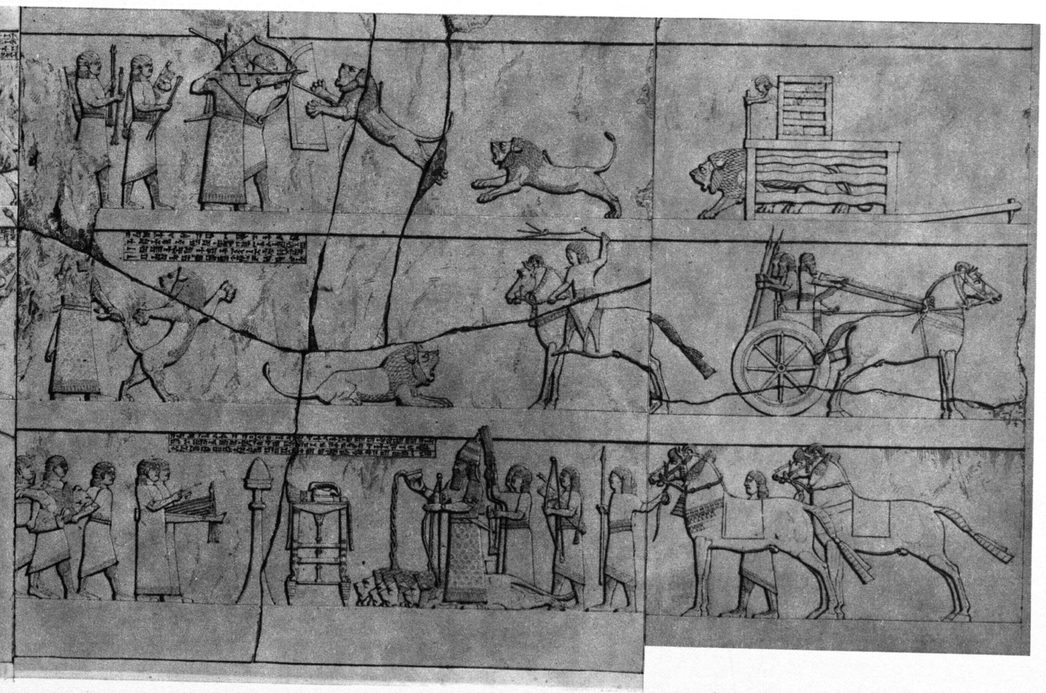


Drawings by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. V 3 (original lost)

THE KING, CROWNED, HUNTS LIONS FROM THE CHARIOT



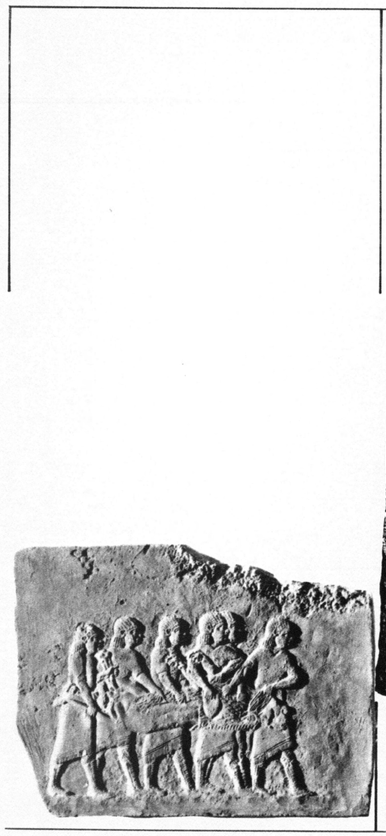
Or. Dr. V 4 [Central part LOUVRE AO 19903]



Or. Dr. V 20 [BM 124886] Or. Dr. V 6 [BM 124887]

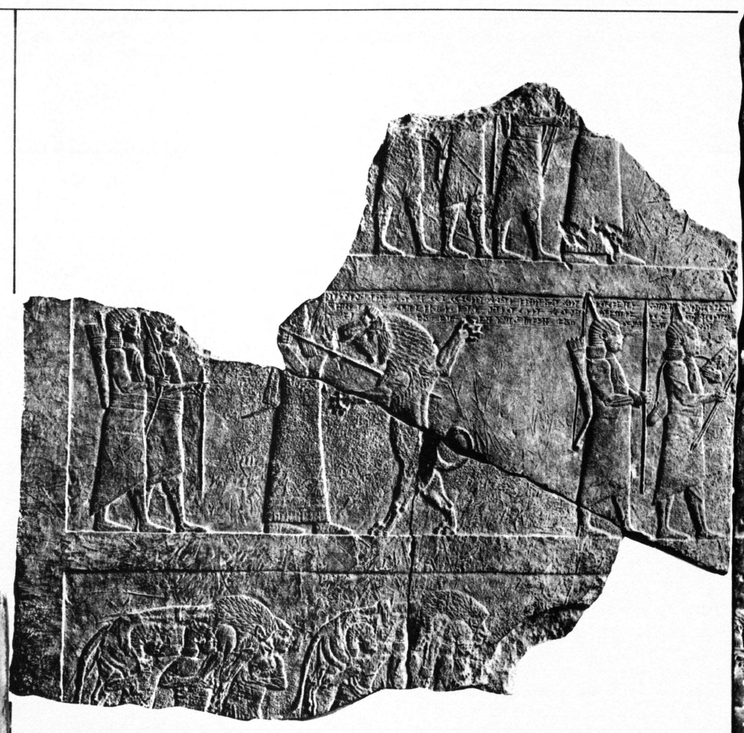
THE KING, CROWNED, FIGHTS WITH LIONS ON FOOT
THE KING, CROWNED, LIBATES OVER THE CARCASSES

SLAB B(?)



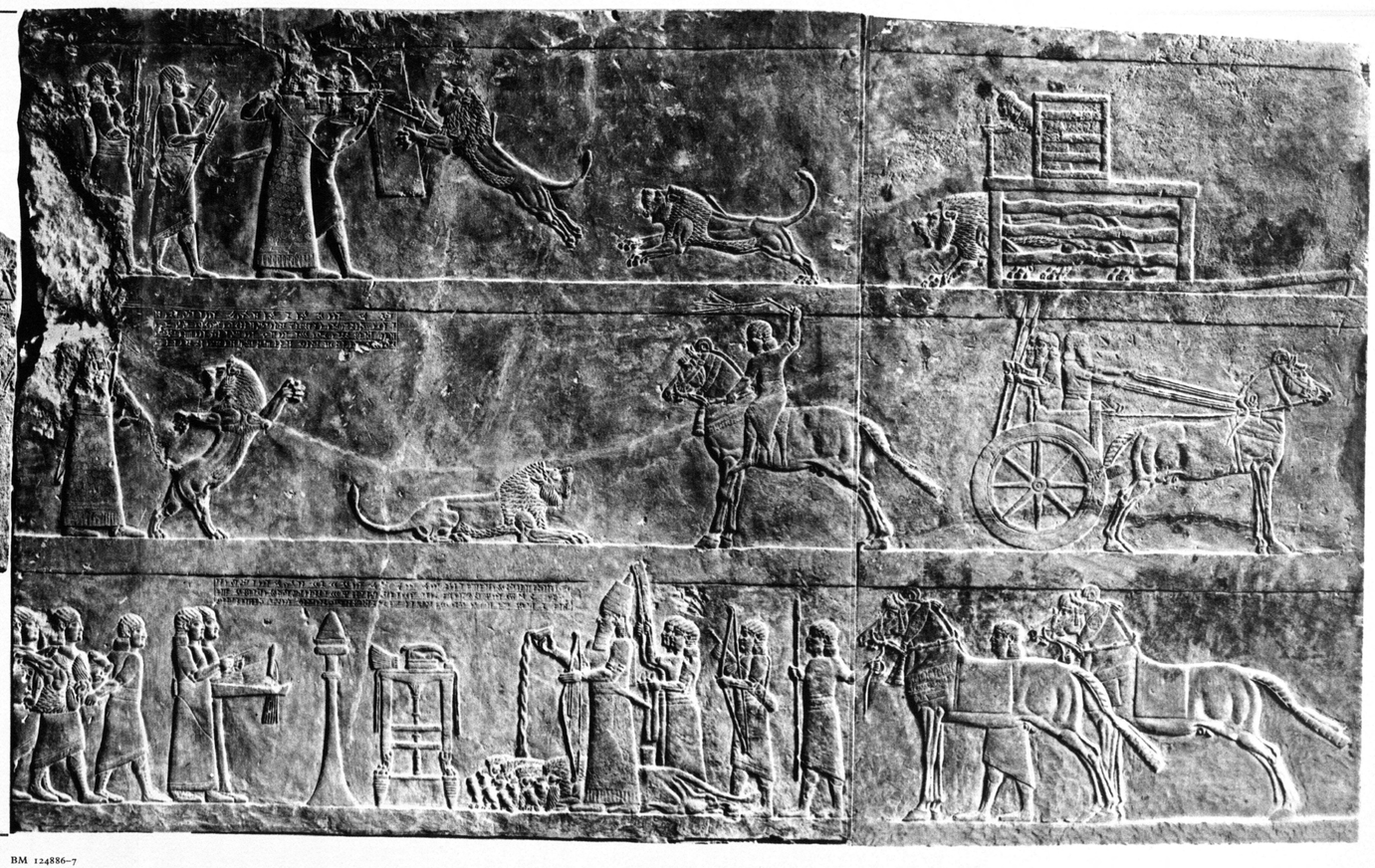
BM 124921

SLAB C



LOUVRE AO 19903

SLABS D, E



BM 124886–7

THE KING, CROWNED, SHOOTS AT LIONS RELEASED FROM A CAGE
THE KING, CROWNED, CLUBS A LION, GRASPING ITS TAIL
THE KING, CROWNED, LIBATES OVER LIONS' BODIES TO THE GOD OF HUNTING



BM 124921

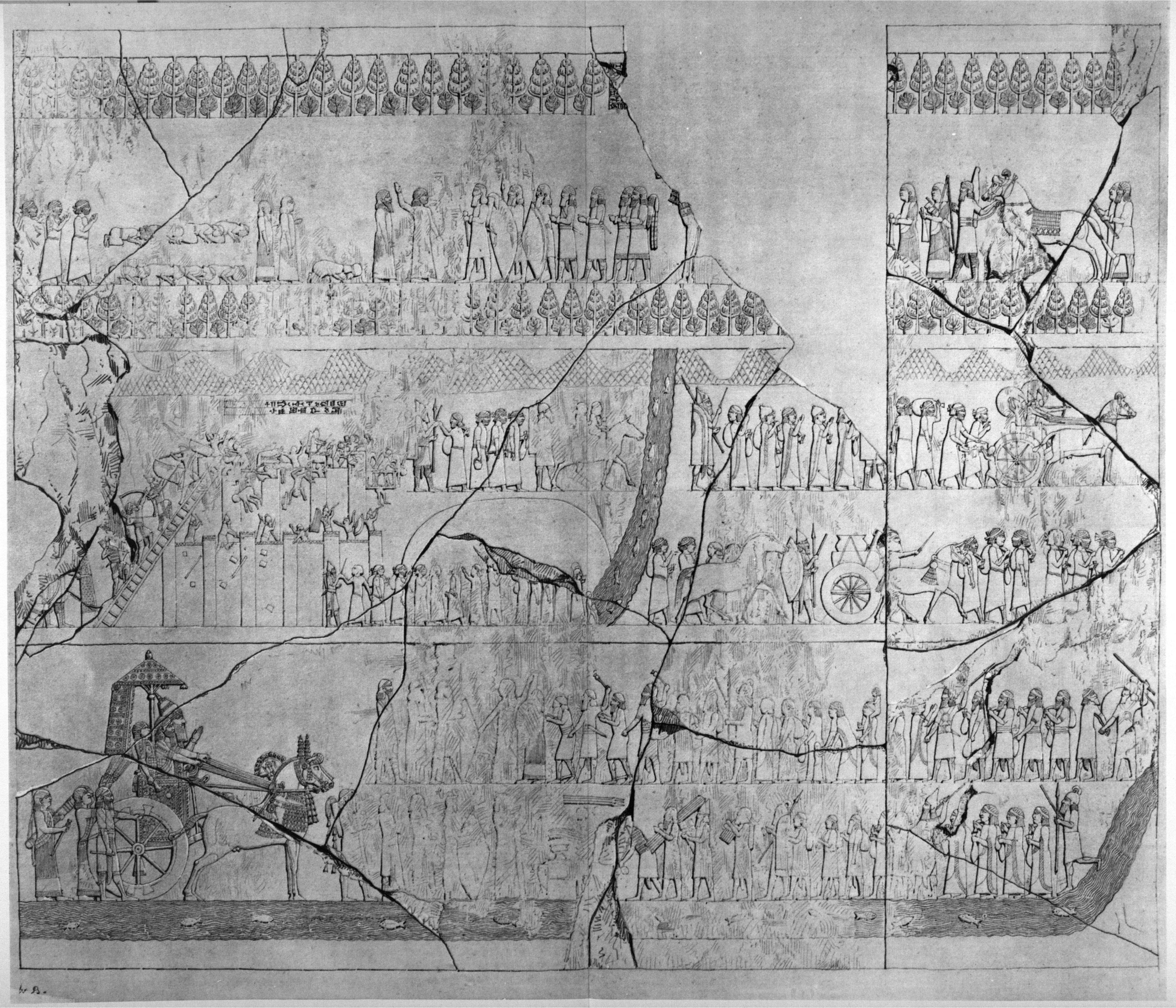


LOUVRE AO 19903

ENLARGED VIEWS OF SLABS B (PART ?) AND C (See Plate LVII)



ENLARGED VIEW OF SLABS D AND E (See Plate LVII)



THE SURRENDER OF UMMANALDAS; THE ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF THE CITY OF *(name illegible)*; THE CHALDAEAN PRISONERS

ROOM S[1] ("Fallen into S")

Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. VI 24

ROOM S¹ (continued)
("fallen into S")

SLAB A (FRAGMENT)

SLAB B

See Or. Dr. V 24 (Plate LX)





LOUVRE AO 19905

LOUVRE AO 19909 + 19906

THE SURRENDER OF UMMANALDAS; THE CAPTURE OF THE CITY OF ——— ; CHALDAEAN PRISONERS



(a)

BM 124924



(b)

HARTFORD



(c)

LONDON, Royal Geographical Society 7



(d)

BOSTON (Fogg) 1953.13



(e)

BM 124923



(f)

VENICE (Deposito Correr 41)



(g)

BRUSSELLS 0.1923



(h)

VENICE (Deposito Correr 43)



(i)

GLASGOW (Burrell Coll.) 28 38



(j)

ISTANBUL 6339



(k)

ROME, Barracco 9



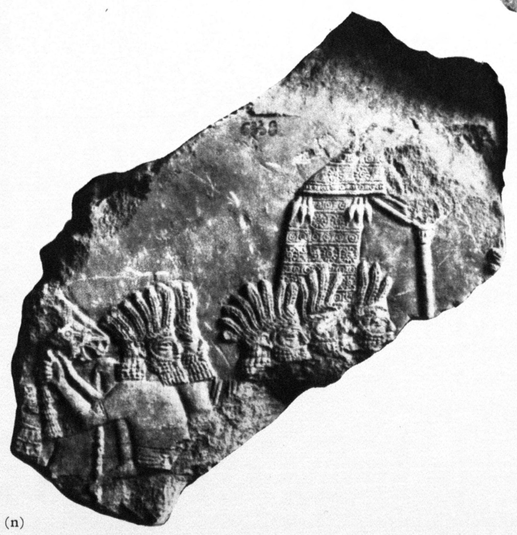
(l)

LOUVRE AO 22.200



(m)

GLASGOW (Burrell Coll.) 28 61

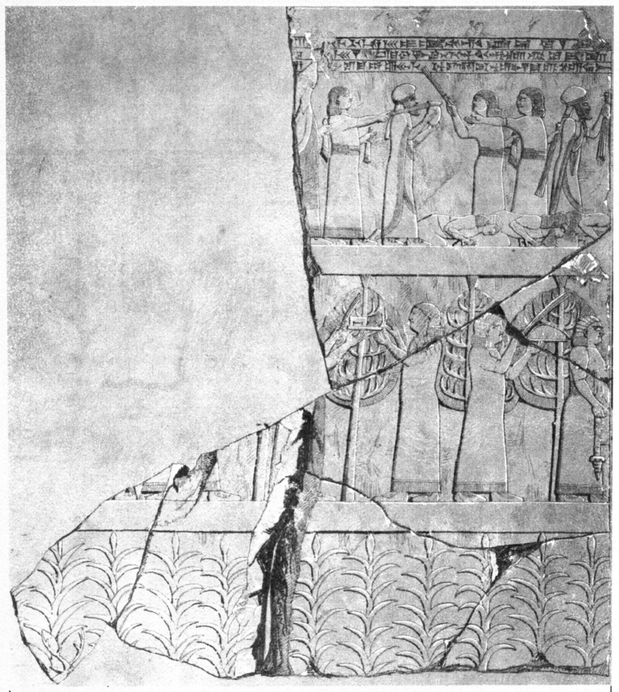


(n)

ISTANBUL 6338

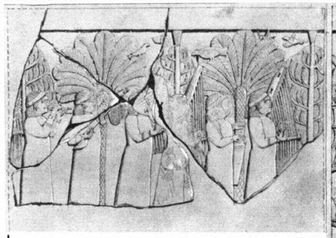
PERSIAN AUXILIARY BOWMEN MARCHING TO THE ASSYRIAN TRIUMPHAL RECEPTION

SLAB (A)



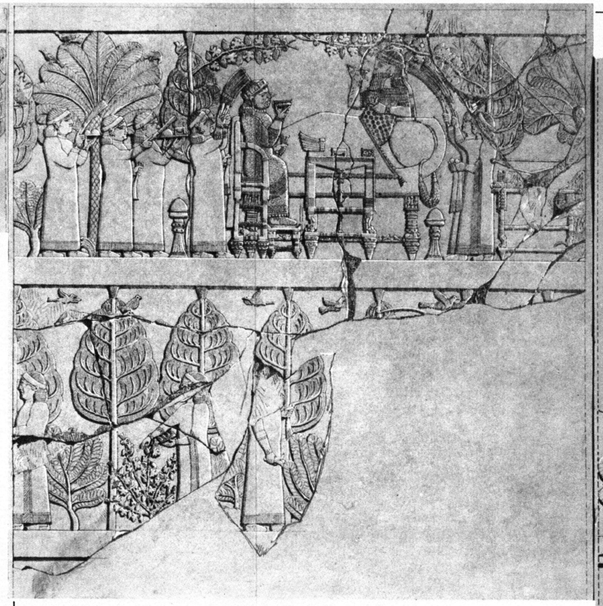
Drawings by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. V 41 [Top register BM 124794]

SLAB (B)



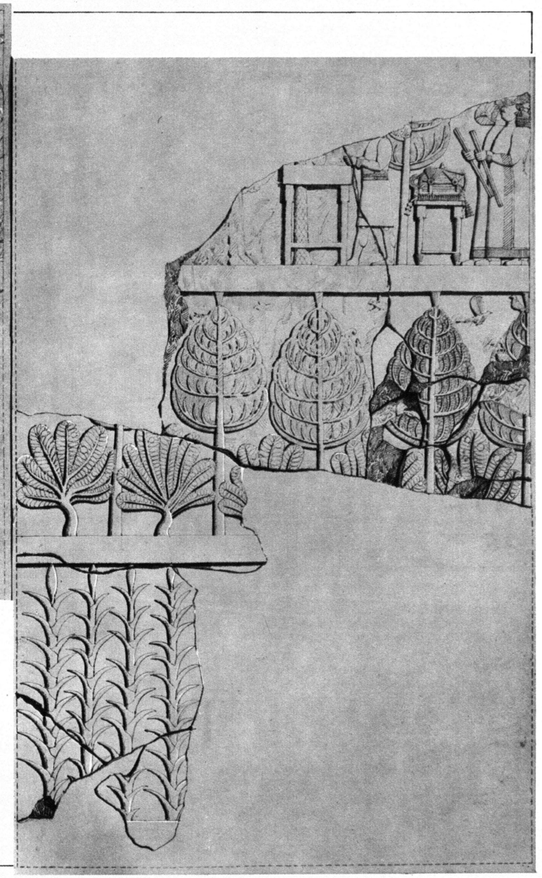
Or. Dr. V 46

SLAB (C)



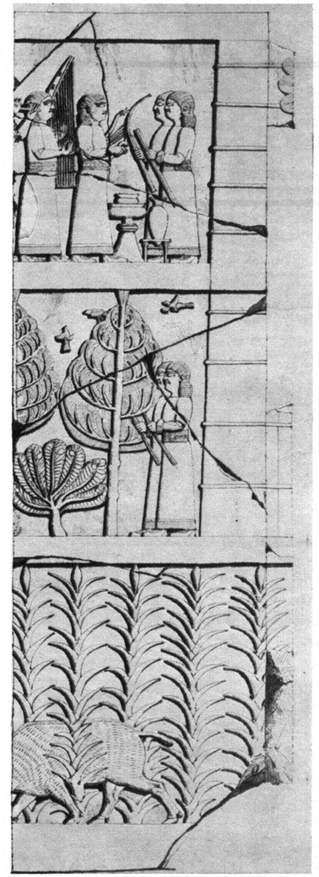
Or. Dr. V 42 [Top register (part) BM 124920]

SLAB (D)



Or. Dr. V 43 [Top register (part) BERLIN VA 969]

SLAB (E)



Or. Dr. V 45 (BM 124922)

A TRIUMPHAL BANQUET IN THE GARDENS AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE ELAMITES

ROOM S¹ (continued)
("fallen into S")

SLAB A



BM 124794

SLAB B (part)

SLAB C



BM 124920

SLAB D (fragment)



(b)

BERLIN VA 969

SLAB E



BM 124922

SLAB F (?)



BM 124916

(c)

BM 135120

(d)



BM 135115

(e)



BM 135116

(f)



BM 135119

(g)



BM 135117

(h)



BM 135118

(i)



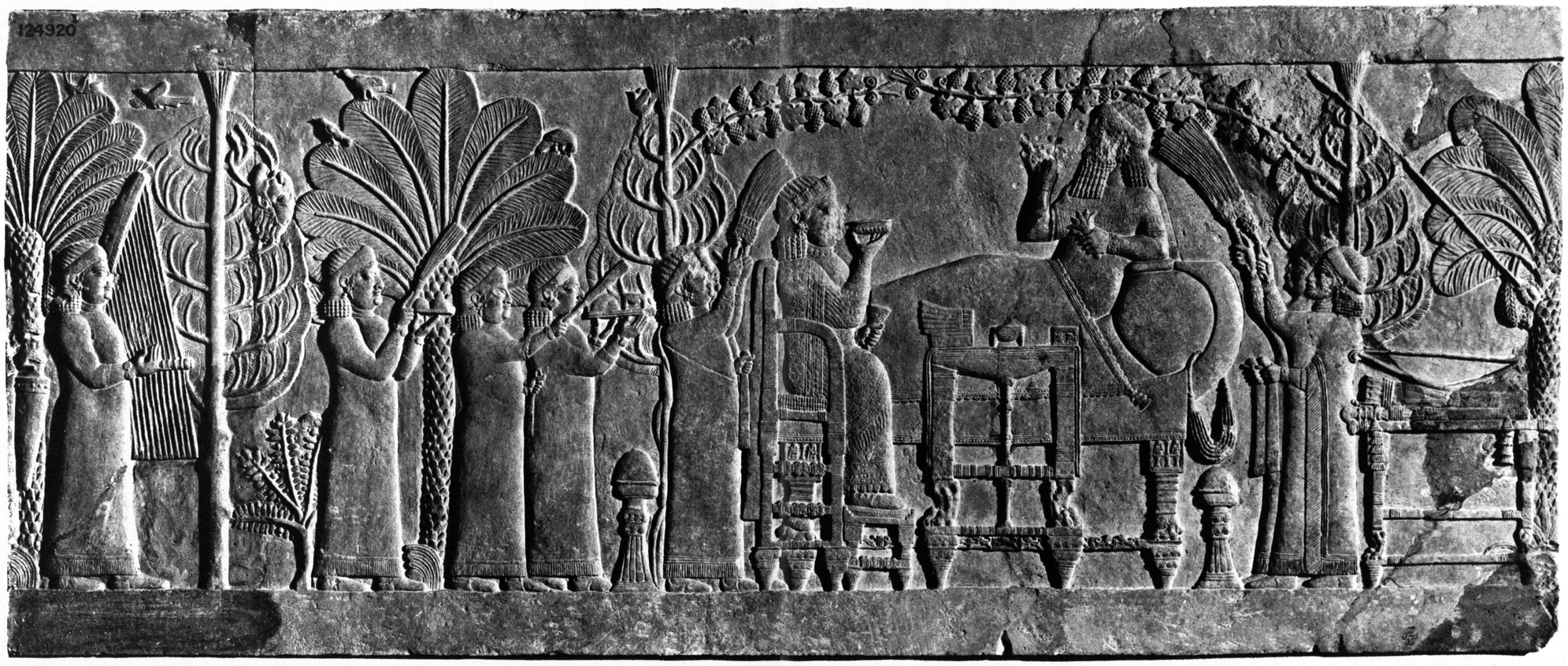
BERLIN VA 159

(a)



LEYDEN 1319

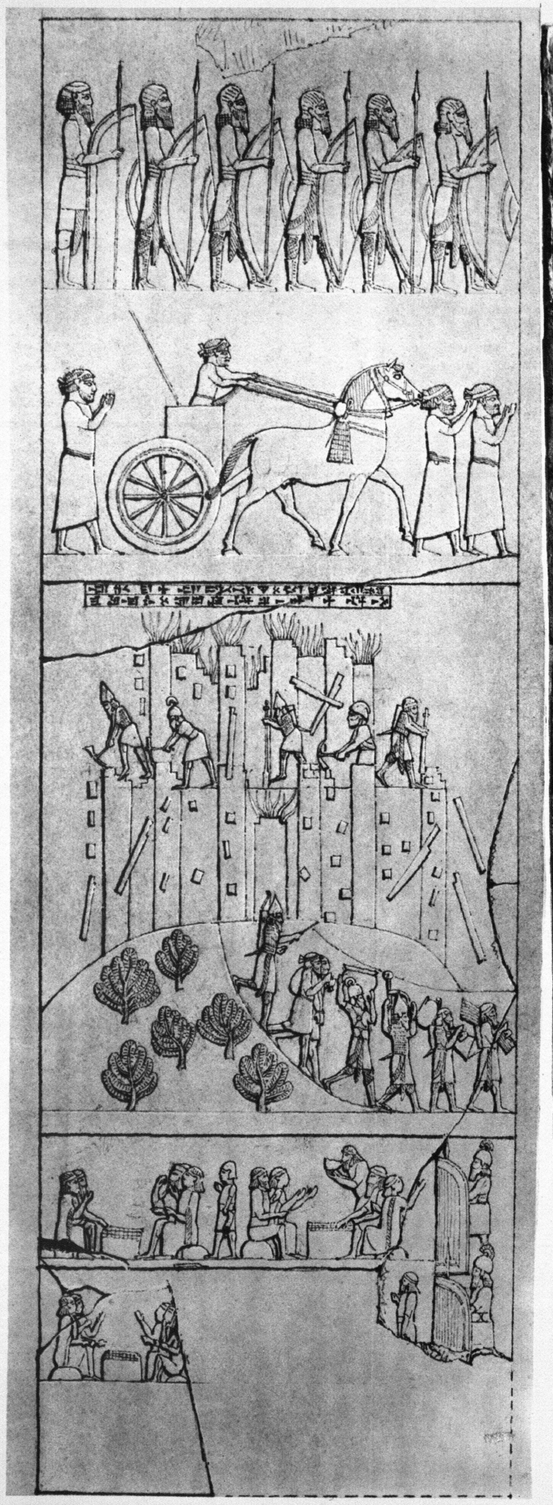
A TRIUMPHAL BANQUET IN THE ROYAL GARDENS AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE ELAMITES



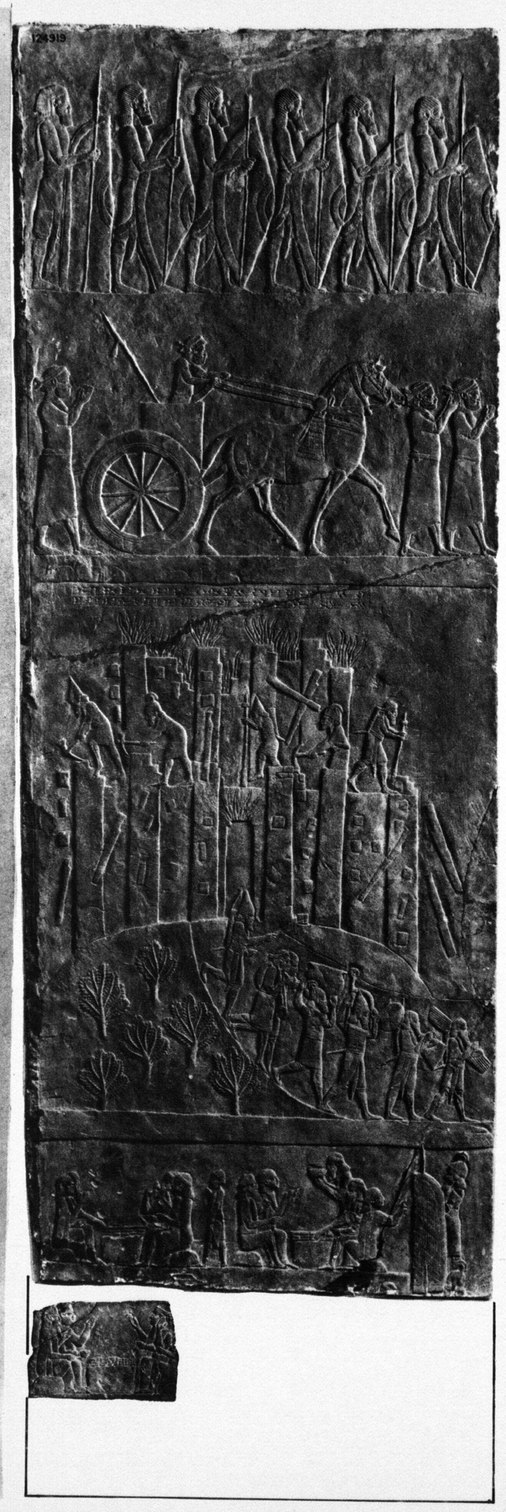
BM 124920

ASHURBANIPAL BANQUETING WITH HIS QUEEN
(ENLARGED VIEW OF SLABS B-C, Plate LXIII)

ROOM S¹ (continued) ("fallen into S¹")
SLAB A



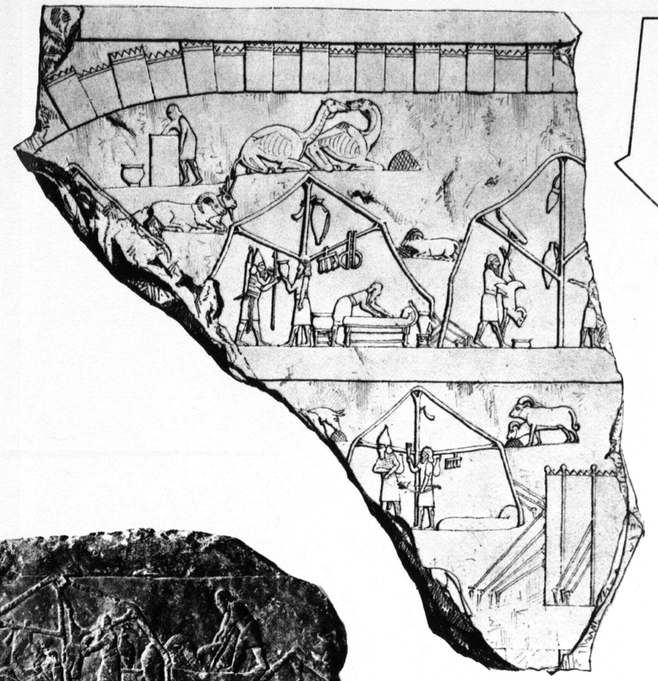
Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. V 25



BM 124919+134386

THE SACK OF THE CITY OF HAMANU IN ELAM

SLAB B



Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. V 26



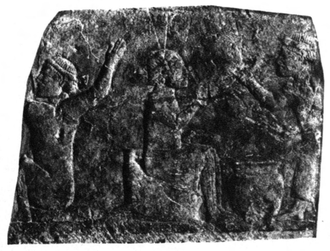
(c) BAGHDAD IM 31065



(a) BERLIN VA 965



(b) GLASGOW (Burrell Coll.) 28.70



(d) LONDON, Royal Geographical Society 9

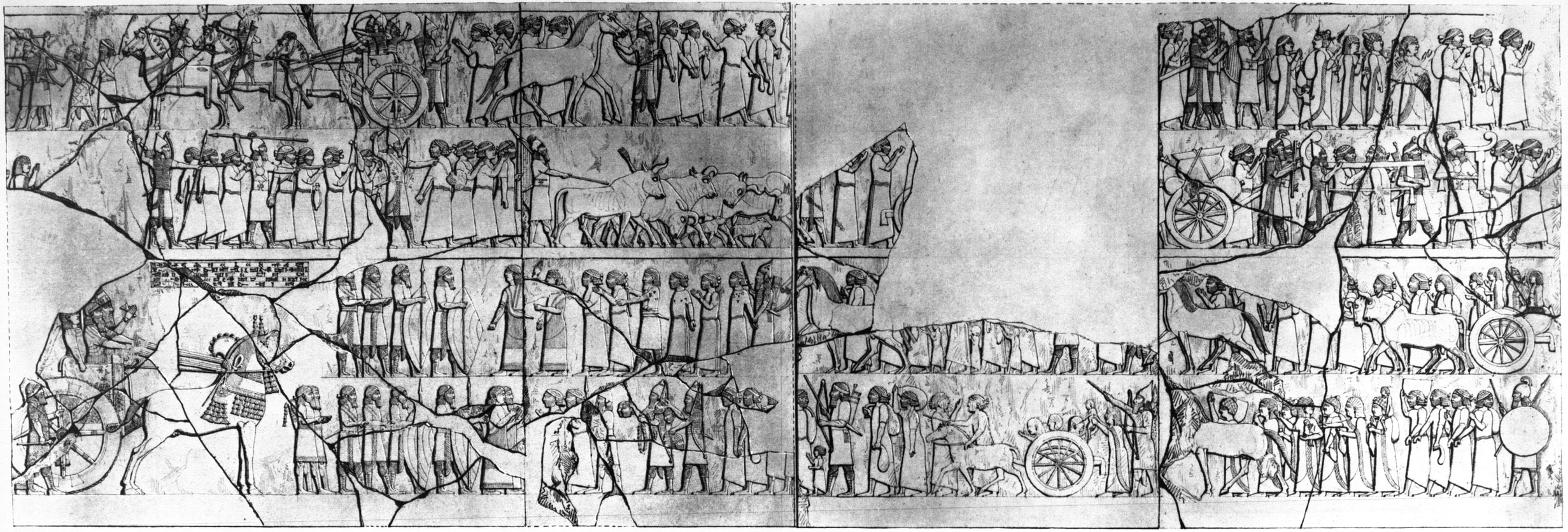


(e) BM 124788

AN ASSYRIAN CAMP; ELAMITE AND CHALDAEAN PRISONERS

SLABS (A), (B)

SLABS (C), (D)



Drawings by W. Boutcher. (originals lost) Or. Dr. V 31 (lower half: Louvre AO 19907) Or. Dr. V 32



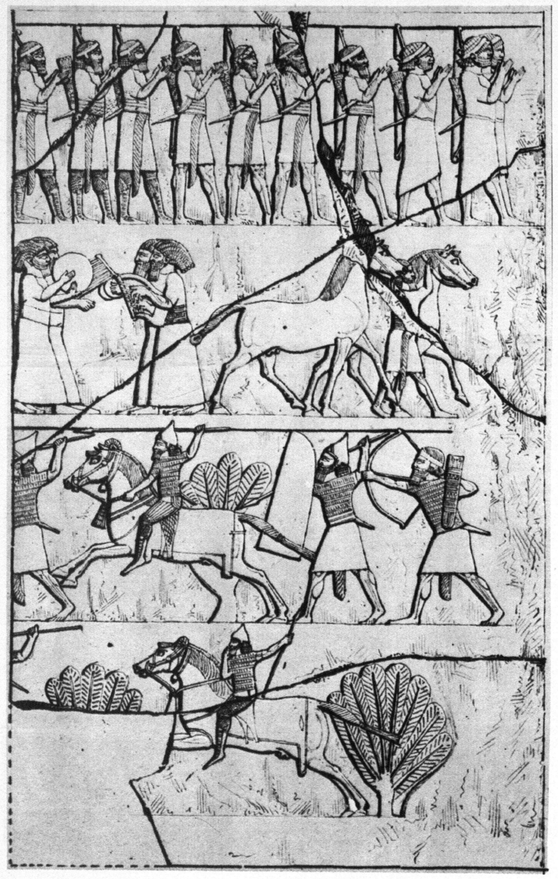
THE EPIGRAPH ON SLAB (A) COPIED BY W. BOUTCHER



LOUVRE AO 19907

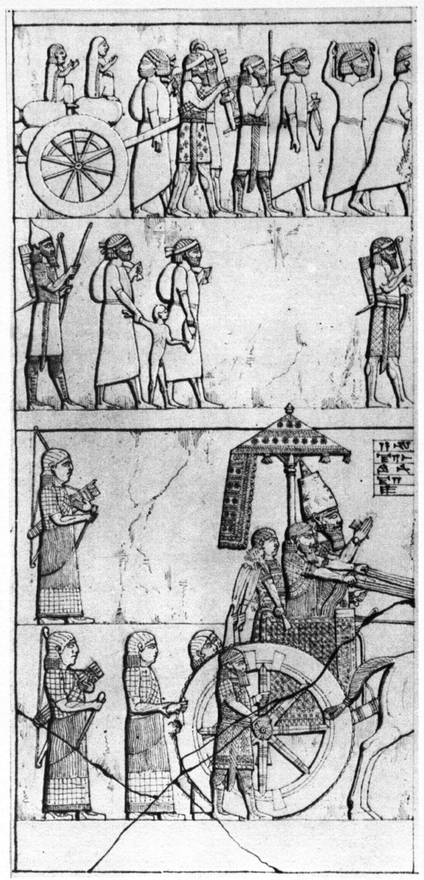
THE CAPTURE OF THE ELAMITE CITY OF DIN-SHARRI

SLAB (E)



Drawings by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. VI 57 (Louvre AO 19908)

SLAB (F)

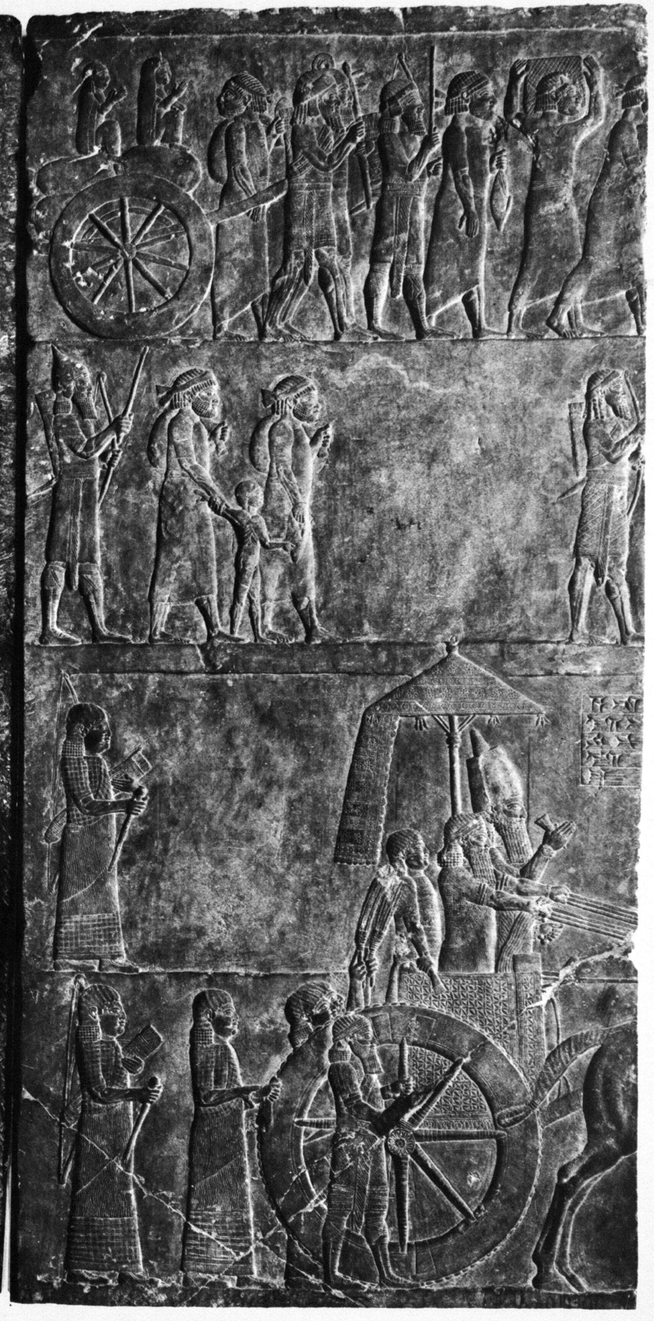


Or. Dr. V 33 (Louvre AO 19904)



LOUVRE AO 19908

SURRENDER OF CHALDAEANS
MUSICIANS AND HORSES
ASSYRIANS ATTACKING

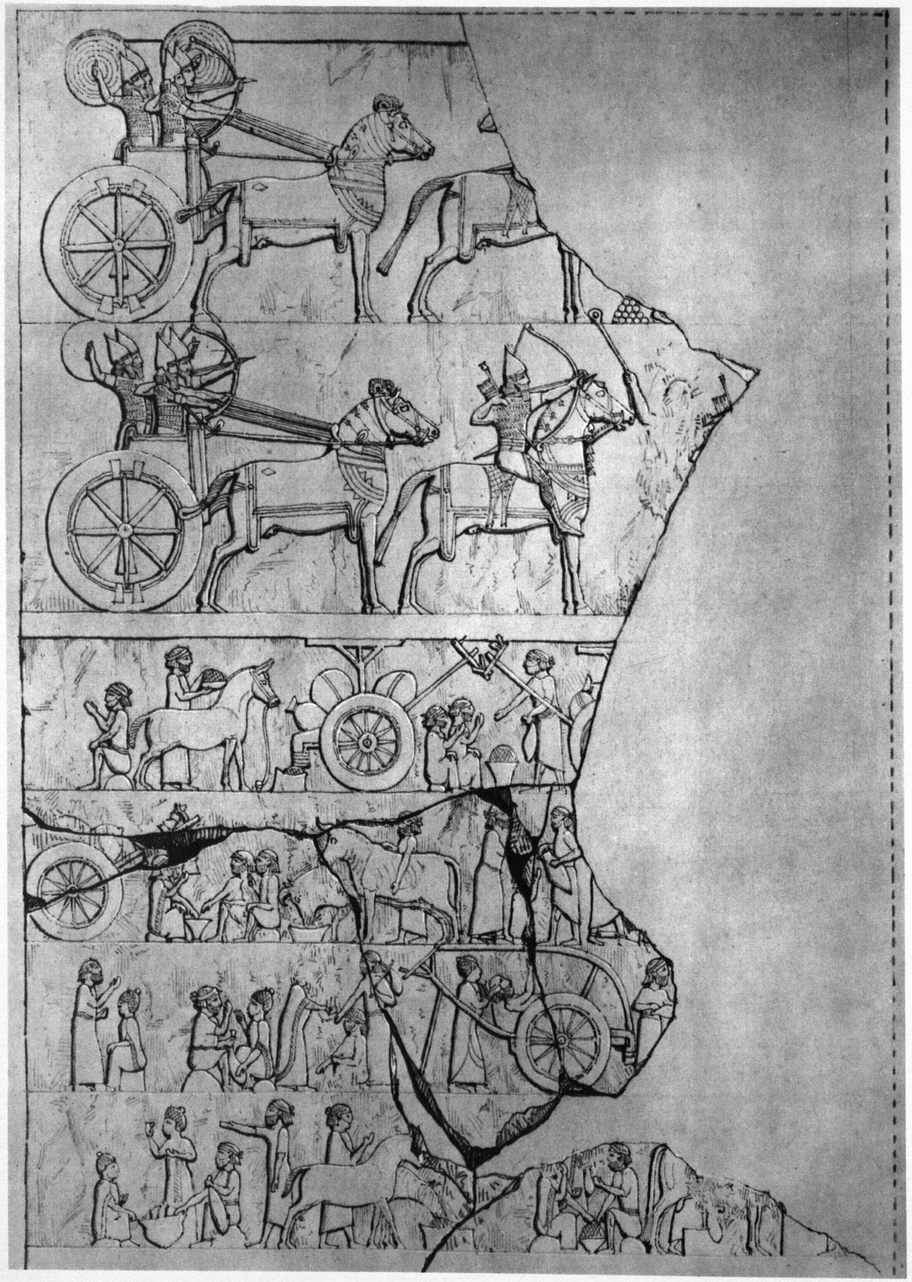


LOUVRE AO 19904

SURRENDER OF CHALDAEANS
ELAMITE PRISONERS
THE KING IN HIS CHARIOT

ROOM V¹/T¹ (continued)
("fallen into V and T")

SLAB (A) (fallen into T)

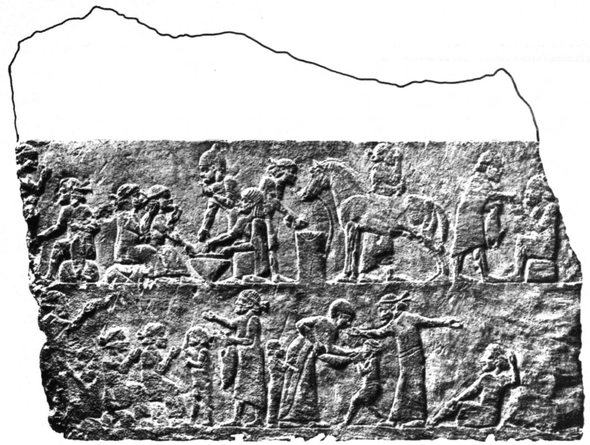


Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. V 28

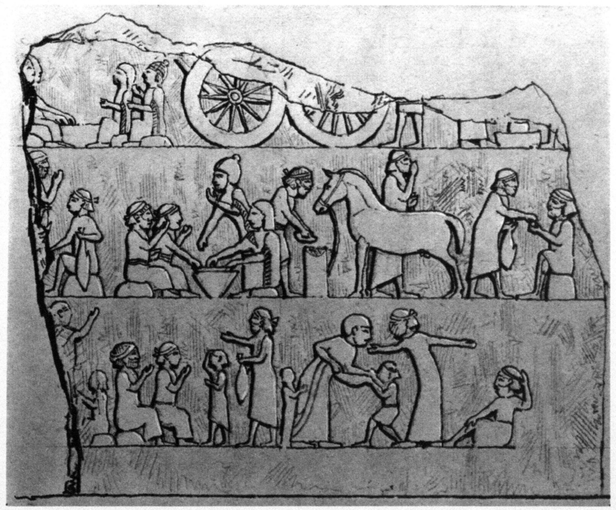


LOUVRE AO 19909

SLAB (B)



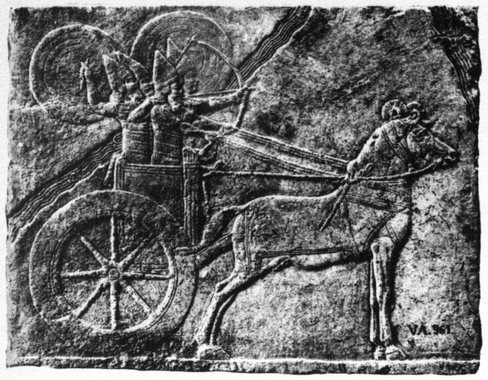
LOUVRE AO 19913



Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. V 27 (Louvre AO 19913: part)

ATTACK ON A CITY: ELAMITE PRISONERS

(a)



BERLIN VA 961

(b)



BERLIN VA 966

(c)



YALE YBC 2355

(d)



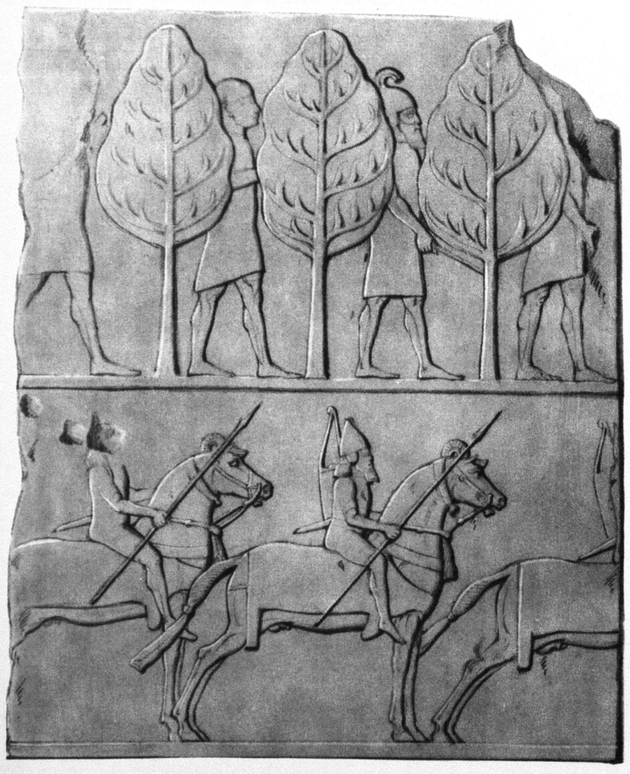
LONDON (Calman Coll.)

(e)



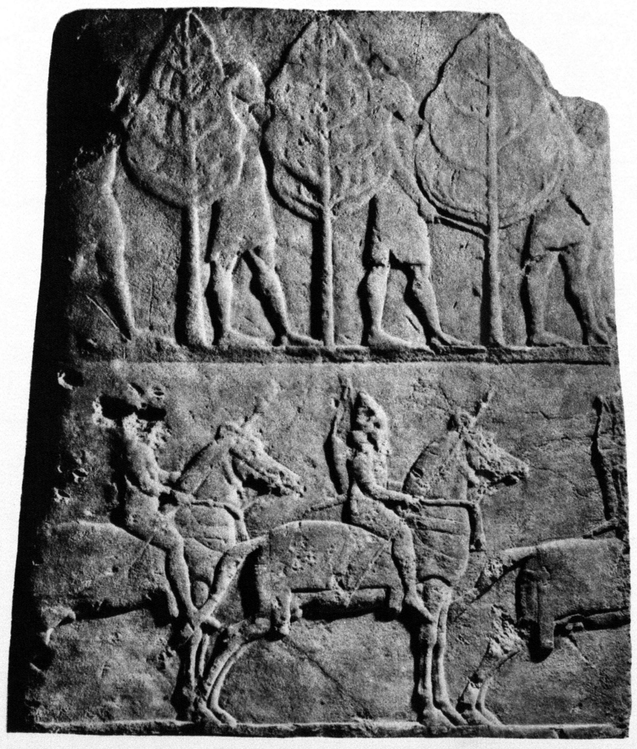
VATICAN 15007

(f)



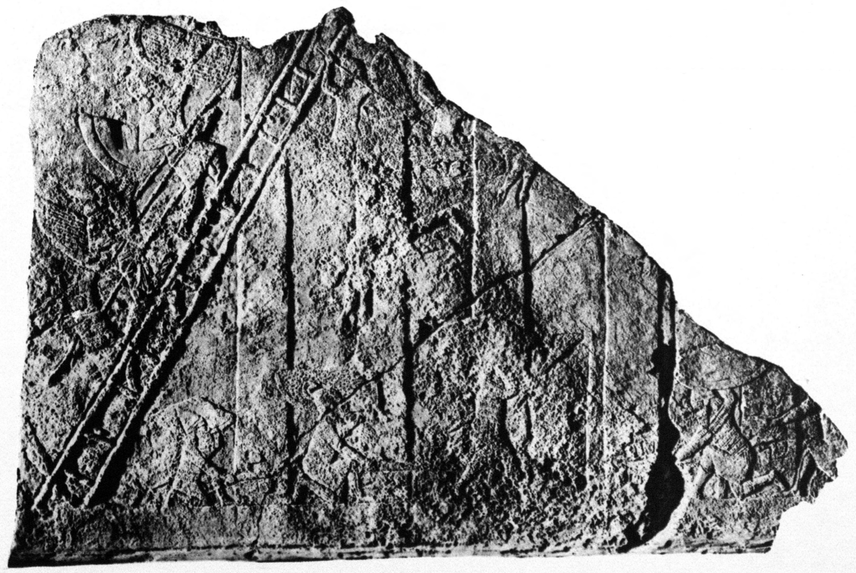
Drawing by W. Boutcher Or. Dr. V 54

(f)



BM 135108

(g)



VATICAN 14985 + 14996

MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS



(h)

LIVERPOOL, Institute of Archaeology



(i)

ISTANBUL 6333



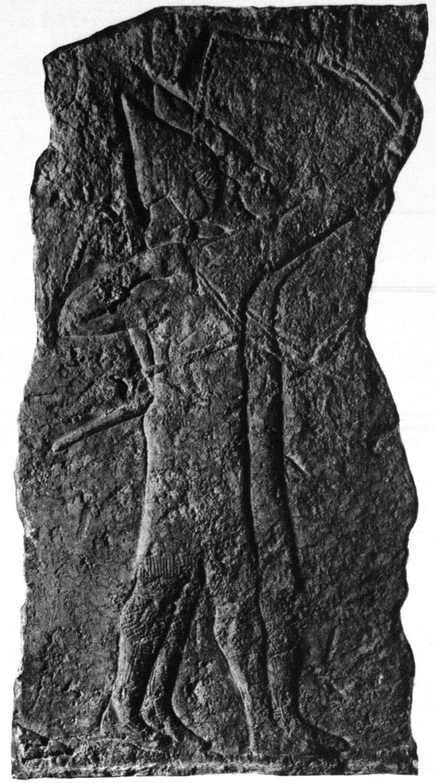
(j)

WARSAW NM 19333



(k)

BM 131689



(l)

LONDON, Royal Geographical Society 2



(m)

LONDON, Royal Geographical Society 1



(n)

BIRMINGHAM



(o)

FLORENCE



(p)

VATICAN 14984



(q)

VATICAN 14986



(r)

GLASGOW (Burrell Coll.) 28/77



(s)

BIRMINGHAM



(t)

BIRMINGHAM



(u)

CRACOW XI-623

OTHER MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS



(v)

ISTANBUL 41



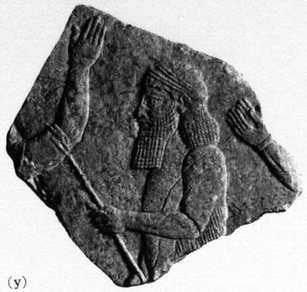
(w)

BIRMINGHAM- City Museum 1026, 69



(x)

VATICAN 14994



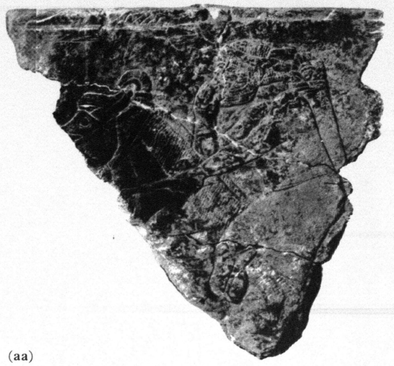
(y)

VATICAN 15006



(z)

BM 118941



(aa)

VENICE (Deposito Correr 48)



(bb)

BM 135196



(cc)

BM 135107



(dd)

MOSCOW (Putyatin Coll.)



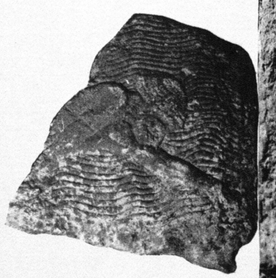
(ee)

BEYROUTH NM 627



(ff)

BAGHDAD (Iraq Museum) (?)



(gg)

BEYROUTH NM 628



(hh)

VATICAN 14999



(ii)

PARIS (Coll. Jacques Lipschitz)



(jj)

BM 135110



(kk)

BOSTON MFA 33.685



(ll)

BM 130713

OTHER MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS (concluded)

ROOM C SLABS 4 (?) – 12 PLATES V-VII



(continued in next row)

THE ROYAL LION HUNT

ROOM C SLABS 13-17 PLATES VIII-IX



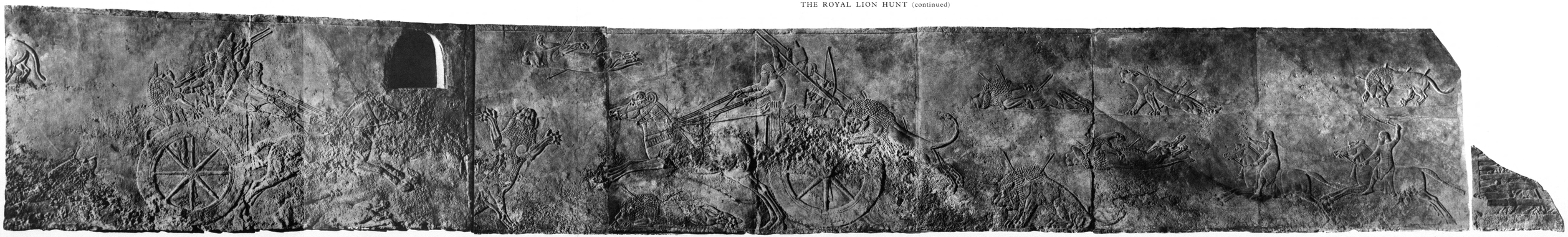
ROOM A SLABS 13-16 PLATES II-III



THE ROYAL BODYGUARD AND SERVANTS BRINGING THE KING'S HAND-CART

ROOM C SLABS 20-28 PLATES XI-XIII

THE ROYAL LION HUNT (continued)



THE ROYAL LION HUNT

ROOM E SLABS 13(?), 5, 7, 8 PLATES XIV-XV



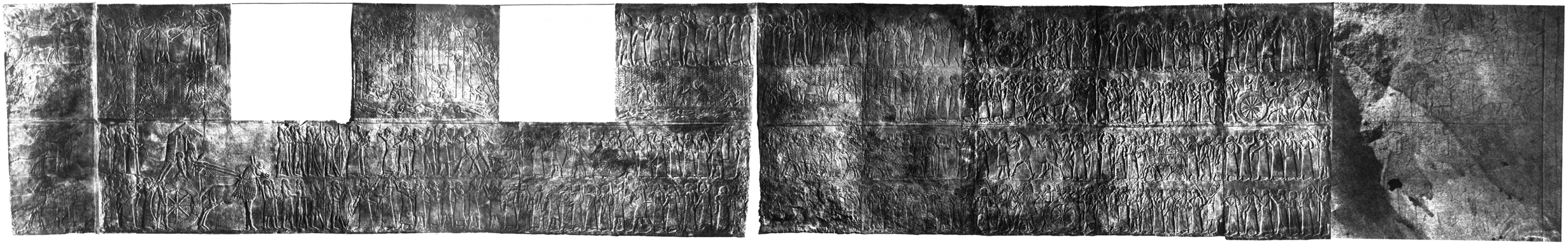


ATTENDANTS WITH HOUNDS: MUSICIANS WITH A TAME LION



LION AND LIONESS IN A GARDEN

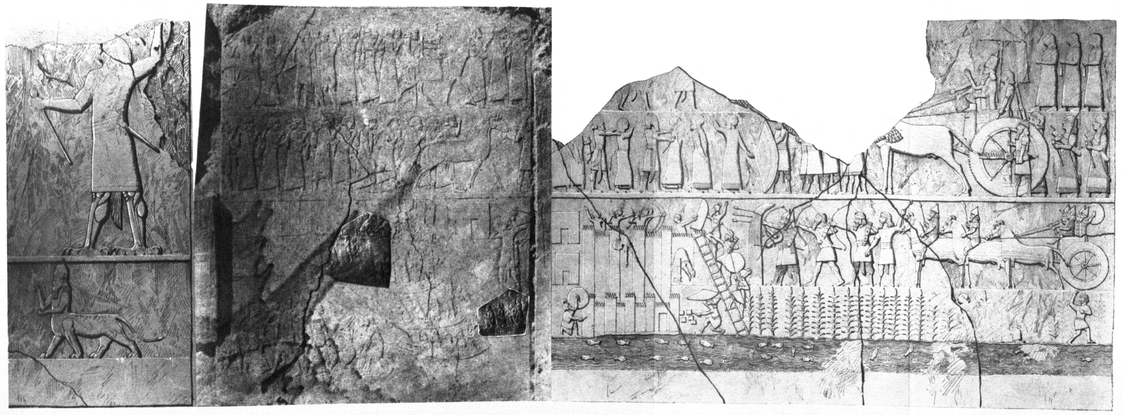
ROOM F SLABS 1-10 PLATES XVI-XX



THE CAPTURE OF HAMANU AND ANOTHER CITY

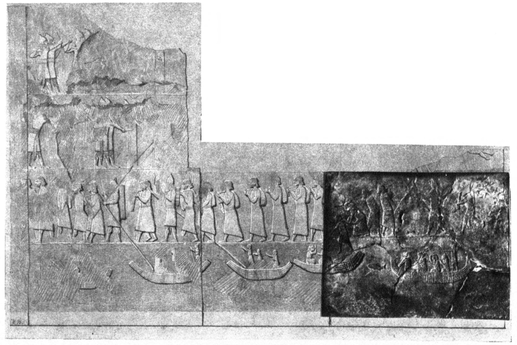
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ROOM F SLABS 11, 14, 15 PLATES XX-XXI



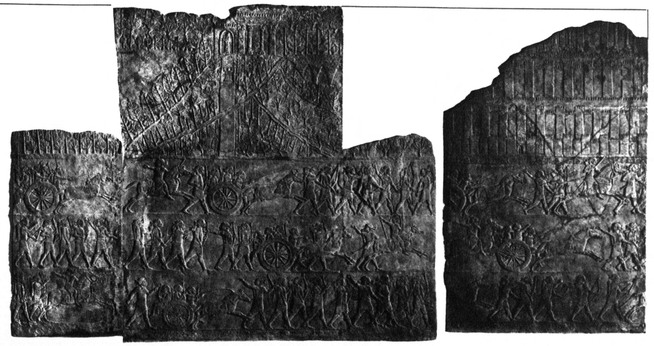
THE CAPTURE OF HAMANU AND ANOTHER CITY

ROOM G SLABS 3-5 PLATE XXII



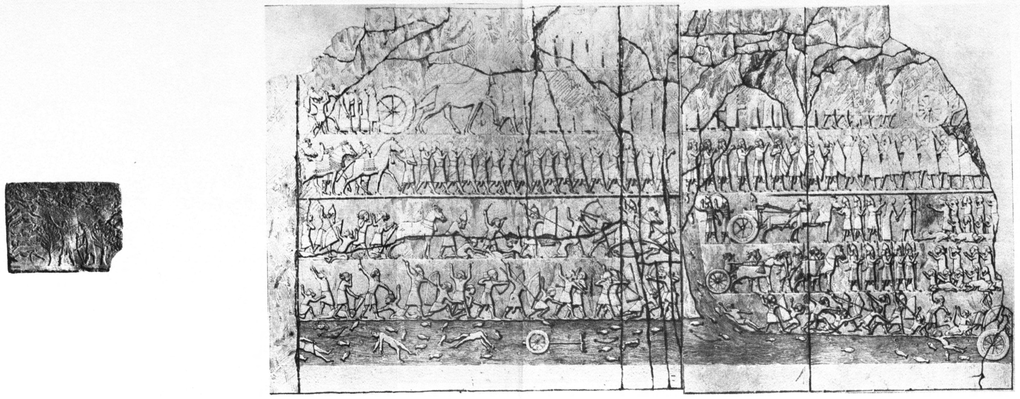
ELAMITE PRISONERS FROM A CITY BY THE RIVER

ROOM H SLABS 7-10(?) PLATE XXIII

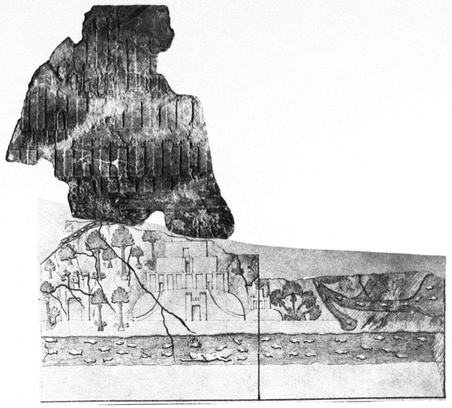


ELAMITES HASTENING TO THE BATTLE

ROOM I SLABS 1, 5–7, 9,10 PLATES XXIV–XXVI

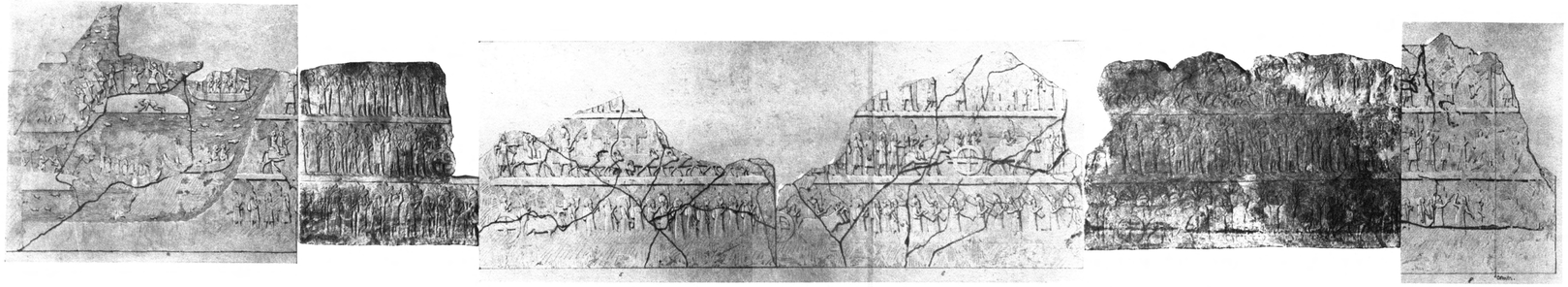


THE BATTLE OF THE ULAI RIVER

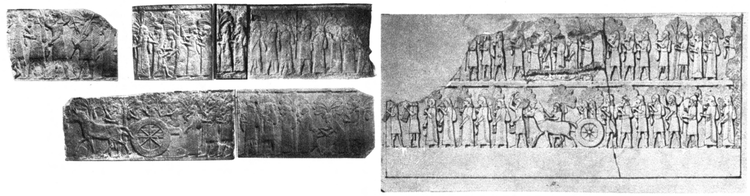


THE CITY OF ARBELA

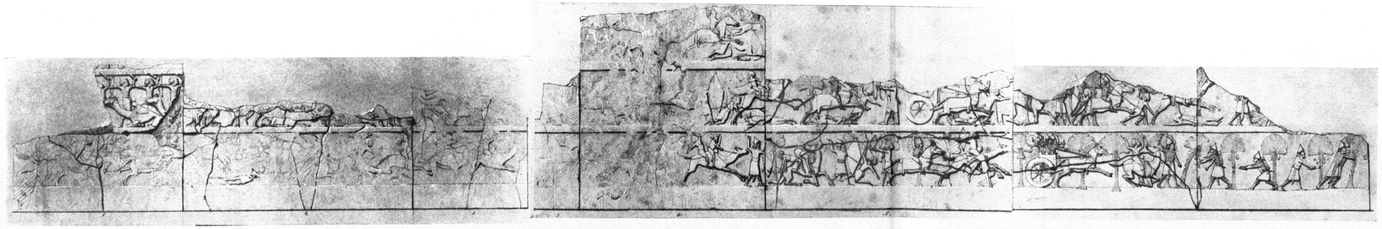
COURTYARD J SLABS 3–8, 10(?)–12(?), 13 PLATES XXVIII–XXXI



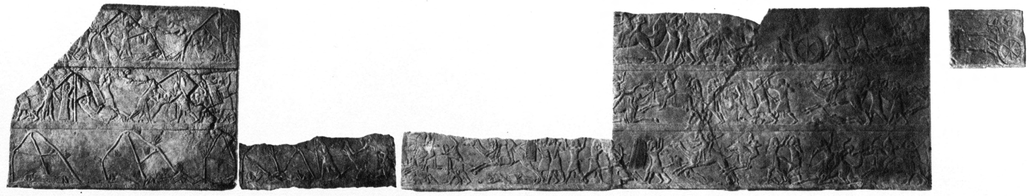
BATTLE IN THE MARSHES



ROOM L SLABS 1–7, 9–13(?) PLATES XXXII–XXXIII



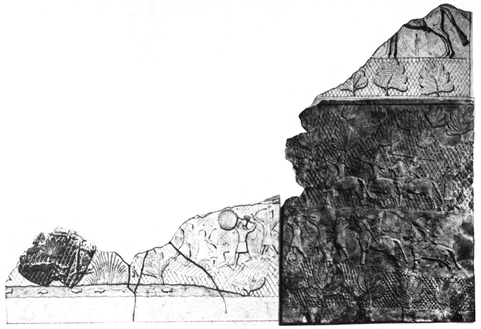
CAMPAIGN AGAINST ARABS



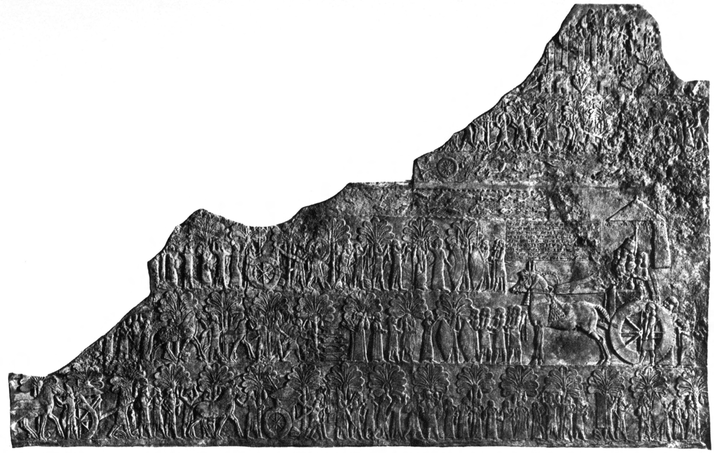
ROOM M SLABS 1(?), 7, 12–13 PLATES XXXIV-XXXV



CAPTURE OF UMMANALDAS



ASSAULT ON A CITY

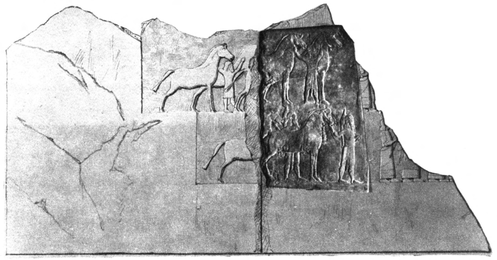


THE SURRENDER OF SHAMASH-SHUM-UKIN

ROOM M SLABS 17–20, 22–23 PLATE XXXVI



SACK OF AN EGYPTIAN CITY



ROOM R SLABS 9–1, 28–25, 23 PLATES XXXIX-XLIII



GOING TO THE HUNT



RETURNING FROM THE HUNT

ROOM S ("upper chambers") SLABS 21, 17 PLATE XLIV

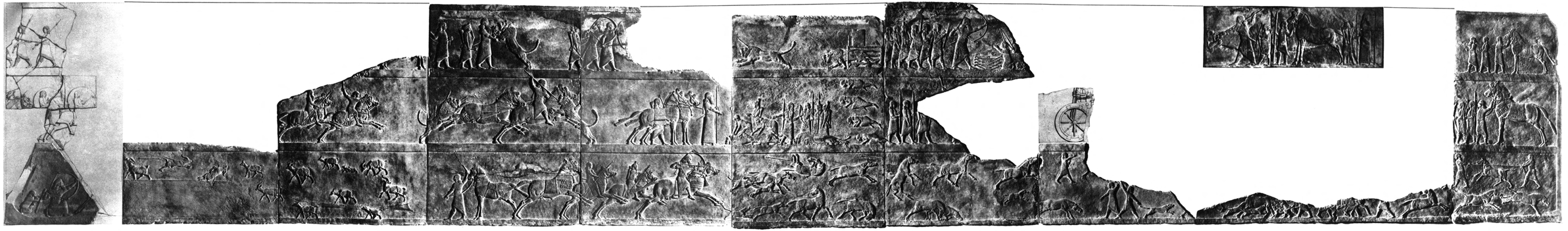




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HUNTING STAGS WITH NETS

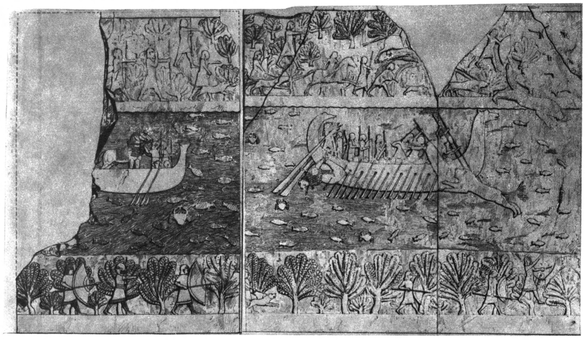
ROOM S SLABS 16–6 PLATES XLVI–LIII



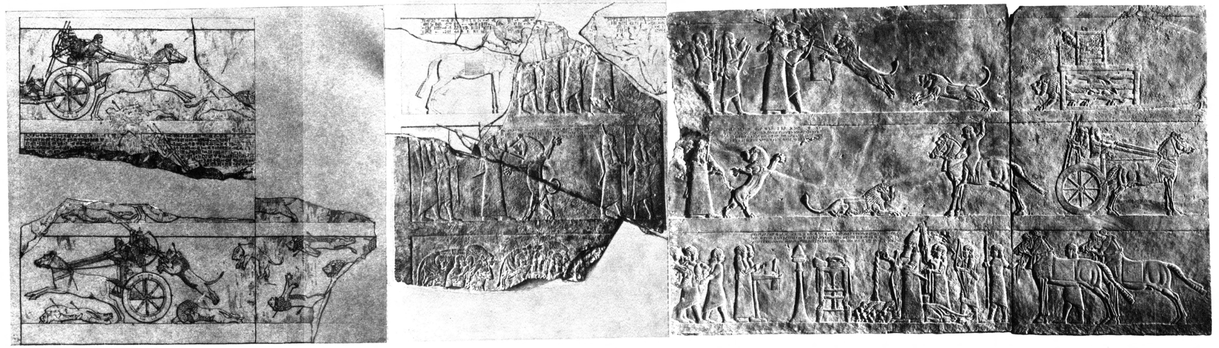
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THE KING HUNTING LIONS, GAZELLE AND ONAGERS

ROOM S SLABS 5–3 PLATE LIV

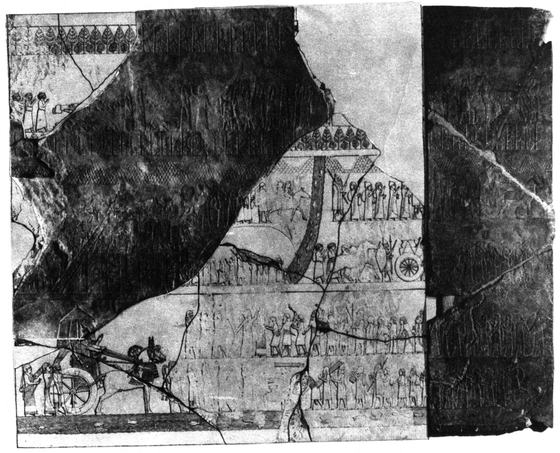


ROOM S^1 ("fallen into S") SLABS A–E PLATES LVI–LIX



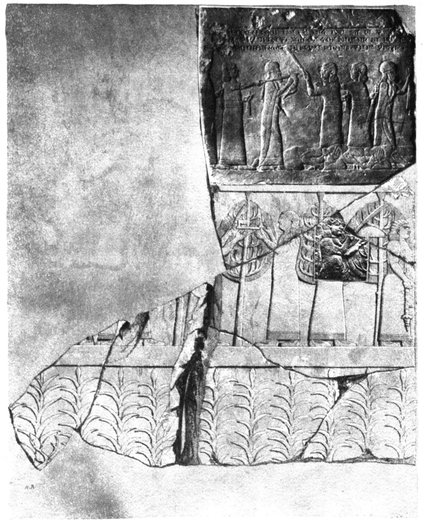
THE KING HUNTING LIONS FROM HIS CHARIOT, AND ON FOOT

ROOM S^1 ("fallen into S") SLABS A–B PLATES LX–LXI

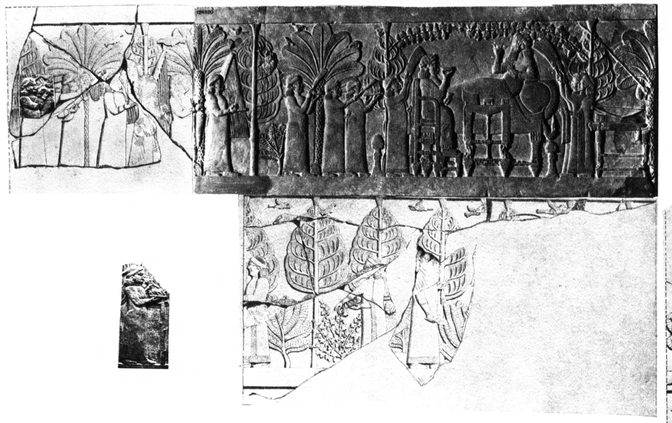


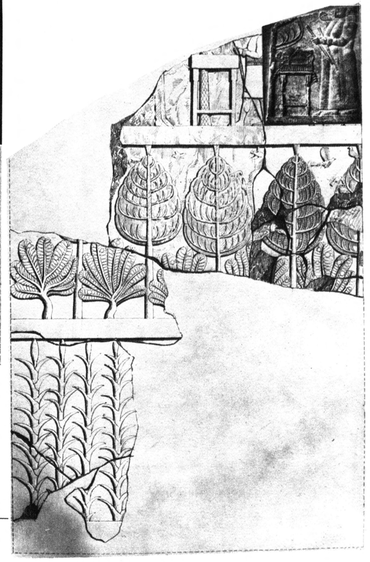
SURRENDER OF UMMANALDAS(?) AND CAPTURE OF A CITY

ROOM S¹ (continued) ("fallen into S") SLABS A–E PLATES LXIII–LXV







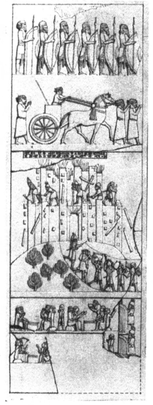






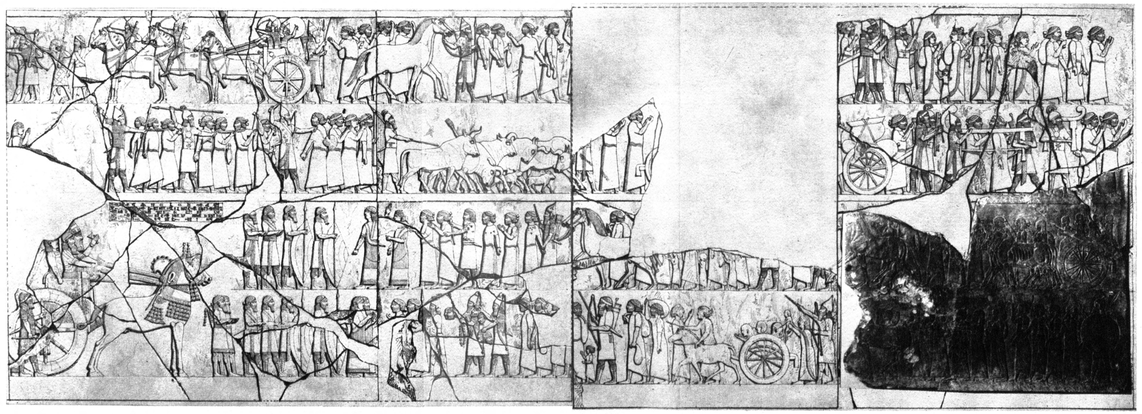
A TRIUMPHAL BANQUET IN THE GARDENS

ROOM S¹ (continued) ("fallen into S")
SLAB A PLATE LXVI



THE SACK OF HAMANU

ROOM V¹/T¹ ("fallen into V and T") SLABS A–D PLATE LXVII

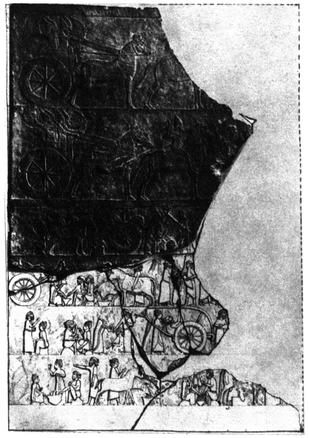


THE CAPTURE OF DIN-SHARRI

ROOM V¹/T¹(?) SLABS E–F, A–B PLATES LXVIII–LXIX



ELAMITE PRISONERS, MUSICIANS,
ASSYRIAN SOLDIERY



PRISONERS, THE KING, AND AN ATTACK

